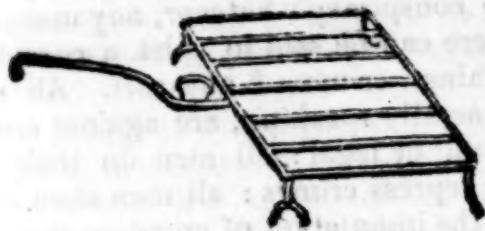


# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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TO

MR. DENISON,

ONE OF THE MEMBERS FOR THE COUNTY OF  
SURREY;

*On the Abolition of the Protestant Church Establishment in Ireland; and on the Abolition of Tithes, and a Resumption of the other Property (called Church Property) in England.*

Wigan, Lancashire, 13th Feb., 1832.

SIR,

WHEN I was young, I was, in reading the *Lives of Plutarch*, very much impressed with what he said in praise of one of the great men of antiquity, the list of whose numerous great qualities he wound up by saying, that in his enterprises *he always chose the proper time*; and whatever else may be said of my deficiencies, I shall never have imputed to me a neglect with regard to *the time* for doing the things which I have attempted to do. At any rate, this, you and the whole of the county of which you are a member, and of which I am a native, will allow, is the proper time for my addressing the public on this subject; and it will presently appear that it is equally proper that I choose you as the channel for this address.

The recent declaration of my Lord Grey with regard to the refusal of the people of Ireland to pay tithes to the Protestant hierarchy, has greatly alarmed his friends, greatly delighted his enemies, and has filled everybody with wonder. The declaration amounted to this: that if the law as it now stands, be found insufficient to enable

the clergy to enforce the collection of the tithes in Ireland, *he will apply to the Parliament for new laws* to enable them to do it. Let us see, then, to what point the law has already reached. It already authorises these Irish parsons and lay-impropriators to seize the stock upon a farm, and to sell it, in order to obtain the amount demanded of the tithe-payer. This is a thing wholly unknown to the ancient law of tithes; a thing never dreamt of in France, Italy, or Spain, or in any Catholic country in the world; a thing never dreamt of by those who established the Protestant hierarchy; and a thing which never could have been thought of except by those who have ceased to regard the church as a Christian institution. If forcible entry and seizure can be made for tithes, why not for "EASTER-OFFERINGS?" Nay, why not for christening and burial fees, and for marriage fees? And if this do not amount to my Lord GREY's own description of the tables of the money-changers, whom he said he wished to drive out of the temple, I do not know what does or what can. But this is not enough, it seems; it is not enough to make forcible entry on men's premises and seize their goods; it is not enough that the shepherd of the fold of Christ take away the fleece by force, and apply it, not to the clothing of the naked, but to his own profit and own luxurious enjoyments; this is not enough, it appears, for my Lord GREY, who, if this should fail, expresses his determination to propose that new laws should be passed of a more vigorous and effective description. After seizure of all that a man hath in the way of property, comes seizure of his *person*; after the seizure of the person, comes the punishment of the body, sometimes by imprisonment, sometimes by banishment, sometimes by the taking away of life itself. How far the getting at the fleece may make it necessary for the shepherds to go, is uncertain; but if the words of my Lord Grey be truly reported in the

newspapers, he means to proceed till he has secured them the enjoyment of the fleece.

To hear him and the others who are standing up for what they call the *rights* of the clergy, one would imagine that the people of Ireland were in arms to *resist* the execution of the law of tithes; and, indeed, the word resistance is constantly applied to their conduct in this case. The true state of the thing is, however, this: that the clergy upon demanding the payment of tithes, are told that the party cannot pay, or will not pay; that the clergy thereupon seize the stock of the party, take it away, and offer it for sale, agreeably to the provisions of this most novel law relative to a Christian church; that the party refusing to pay tithes, or failing to pay tithes, *offers no resistance* whatsoever to the execution of the law, but suffers his property to be taken away, generally being overawed by the presence of a military or half-military force. What ground of complaint is there, then, against the tithe-payers of Ireland? They suffer the law to take its course, and that course is the taking away of their property, and offering it for sale. But now comes the difficulty of the reverend pastors. They have no difficulty in the seizure, or in the offering of the thing seized for sale; but *nobody will buy the thing offered for sale!* And what is the cause of this? A "*conspiracy*" has been talked of; and if there were a conspiracy capable of proof, there stands the law, with its sharp iron claws, at all times ready to tear the conspirators to pieces. It is a conspiracy such as men enter into when they rush out of a playhouse that is said to be on fire. It resembles a conspiracy to entertain a desire to preserve life by avoiding the effects of famine or of pestilence. Self-interest, a love of gain, a desire to add to one's property; these are feelings arising out of the universal desire for self-preservation. The stock seized by the reverend pastors and tendered for sale, doubtless, in charity, humility, and mercy, must present, in the several parishes, advantageous bargains to purchasers; and,

therefore, no such purchasers appearing, it must be true that it is the general conviction of the people of the country that it is wrong for any man to participate in the purchase. In short, there is no conspiracy whatever, any more than there can be said to exist a *conspiracy against crime of any sort*. All men, generally speaking, are against crimes, moral or legal: all men do their best to repress crimes: all men shun crime or the imputation of crime, or the community would be at an end: and if the feeling with regard to tithes and Easter-offerings be equally prevalent, how can any part of the community be accused of a *conspiracy*? It may indeed be said, that the whole of the community have a feeling hostile to the law; but it is a thing impossible that the law should, under such circumstances, be enforced. It may be a question whether the community be wise or foolish in their hostility to the law; but there can be no question that, under such circumstances, the wise part for the Government to act would be at once to repeal the law. I have been labouring for many years to cause this law to be repealed *in time*. So early as the year 1805 (as any one may see by reference to the *Register*) I predicted that the whole of the church of England must be abolished, unless it were then speedily *reformed*. I lived in Hampshire at the time; I witnessed the monstrous abuses in the church; I used to go to my own parish church, and see a congregation of three or four persons in the afternoon, while the Methodist meeting-house was crammed to suffocation. I was extremely anxious for the well-being of the church and the clergy; but the act of 1803, which totally put an end to the duty of residence, and enabled the parsons to be renting-farmers and cattle-jobbers, made me look into the affair of pluralities and non-residence; made me write against both, and convinced me that the church must come down, unless an end were put to them. I witnessed the unsparing squandering of livings amongst the relations of the bishop; I witnessed the worse than uselessness of the dean and

chapter; I had to feel the persecuting politics of the parsons, and I had to bear my share of their oppression and their insolence. Still, for a long while, I did not wish for the overthrow of the establishment, and I took the part of nobody that treated it with contempt. But when another 300 millions had been added to the debt, and when I saw that peace was to bring no peace; when I saw that the army was to be still as large as in time of war; and especially when I saw thousands of the military heroes take holy orders, get themselves inducted into livings, and still receive military and naval half-pay; after so much had been bestowed upon the church in all sorts of ways; and after pluralities and non-residence had become more general and more odious than ever; then I was convinced that the church could not stand in its present form, and with its present possessions. By this time I had acquired a full knowledge of the origin of the church and of the origin of its property. I saw that the latter *belonged to the public*; and I saw that the public must take this property and apply it to new purposes, or that, at last, the taxes would finally drive the people to effect by a convulsive movement that which I wish to see effected by law, and in the most peaceable manner.

Towards this end, things have been gradually drawing ever since the close of the war. Ninety-nine hundredths of the people have been, from that time, looking to the tithes as a *resource*. Until 1824 very few persons, comparatively, found themselves furnished with any *argument* for making this resource available; but in that year came out the "Pigs' MEAT," as Dr. Black called it; and immediately the whole nation seemed to become enlightened and delighted. Never did a drove of pigs come galloping to the trough with more eagerness, upon hearing the rattles of the dairy-maid's pail; and there, at this moment, are all the London "best possible public *instructors*," as BROUGHAM VAUX called them, actually at the trough shouldering one another, and squeaking and crying, lest they should lose their share of the

wash. In the country we call the stoutest and most resolute hog the "*head hog at trough*." Until the other day, when I saw a newspaper at Bolton, I thought that Dr. Black himself stood in this envied station; but I then perceived that a couple of broad-sheeted females had actually ousted the Doctor, and had got their snouts eye-deep in the swill; I mean ANNA BRODIE and FANNY WRAIGHT, the twoshe-proprietors of the bloody old *Times*, which acted so fine a part in the affair of Thomas Goodman, and in the rest of the materials of the Whig prosecution. When we say "*head-hog at trough*," we make no distinction as to he or shes: to the stoutest and most resolute of the really swinish multitude, we give this denomination; and if the *History of the Protestant Reformation* really be "Pig's MEAT," as Dr. Black called it, these two females are certainly head-hogs at trough; for, as I am now going to show you, Sir, they make a great deal more free with the *History of the Protestant Reformation*, than any of the rest of the herd of BROUGHAM VAUX, who, I dare say, (considering his recent very positive and *equally wise* assertions relative to the rights of the clergy,) thinks the whole herd possessed of a devil, and wishes to see them driven headlong into the sea. However, Sir, it is not the plagiarism of these stupid automatons that is of any consequence in itself; it is not what is said or done by the dirty-faced, gin-drinking vagabonds that scribble full the columns of the *broad-sheet*; it is not what is said by the bloody old *Times*, by the see-saw *Herald*, by that leaky thing called the *Tap-tub*, by that ball of horse-dung which calls itself the *Globe*, and the principal owner of which is that modest gentleman, Colonel Torrens, who thought, it seems, that the everlastingly toiling bees of Bolton stood in need of a tax-eater, to help them to get rid of their burdens; nay, it is of little consequence what is said out of the *Pig's MEAT* by Dr. Black himself: the important thing for you to consider, and particularly for my Lord Grey to consider, is what an indication these pi-

giarisms form of the *state of the public mind as to this great matter*. It is not what these people say ; but what they hear the public say, that is the matter of importance. I beseech my Lord Grey to reflect that these people do not write for the purpose of instructing, of informing, or even of amusing, their readers. They write for the purpose of selling what they write ; and experience has taught the whole tribe that every individual will like that paper best which contains matter most consonant with his own way of thinking, and especially with his own wishes. There are some papers, indeed, which are *bribed* ; and getting their pay in that way, they care nothing about the tastes or wishes of their readers. Now and then one falls into the hands of a man of integrity, who sends forth his own opinions regardless of those of others ; but such men are rare, and, as Dr. Black knows, often thought troublesome. Of all the London broad-sheets, however, none is so perfectly a trading concern as the bloody old *Times* : it never moves without first ascertaining if it be possible, whether the movement will be attended with gain or with loss ; and it invariably acts as dictated to by its own immediate and pecuniary interest. Just as completely as a calico-printer acts in the choosing of his colours and the quality of his cloth. As the fellow who first advertised Wellington-boots did it for the purpose of causing the boots to sell more than they would have sold without that name, so the articles in this paper are written with a view of causing the paper to be sold more than it would be without the matter contained in those articles.

This being the case ; these papers putting forth, not the thoughts of the writers, but the thoughts and wishes of the people, I beg you, Sir, and more particularly beg my Lord GREY, to read with attention the following extract from the *Times* newspaper of the 9th instant. I beg his Lordship not to toss up his head and laugh at it. It is not ANNA BRODIE and FANNY WRAIGHT that speak here : his Lordship will here behold the universal wishes of John Bull fully and clearly expressed : expressed,

indeed, in my words, but through the broad-sheet of these my two obedient and obliging hand-maidens.

" It is to be apprehended that if Lord Grey should not think proper to explain more distinctly than he has yet done, his intentions, *as a Minister*, with regard to Ireland,—we mean, more particularly, in relation to the church,—his Lordship will have to charge himself with something at least approaching to an indiscretion. The plain meaning of his words on Tuesday evening was, that he would enforce the law for the collection of tithe in Ireland. Was it not so? If his Lordship answers in the affirmative, he prepares for himself an enterprise the most abortive in its execution, and in its final results the most fearful, *that ever blind man undertook* when he walked over the edge of a precipice. It is impossible to make the Irish Catholics pay tithe at the existing rate to any (even a Catholic) clergy, or *any tithe to Protestant clergy*. And we rejoice that it is impossible, because it is unjust. Let not Lord Grey threaten the wild experiment of going to law with 6,000,000 of men, by seizing their goods and chattels ; or of going to war with them in a foul cause, by attempting, on the recommendation of such a statesman as Lord Ellenborough, to *imprison their persons* for arrear of tithe. Let him not, we implore Lord Grey, and if he will not listen to us, we implore the more enlightened of his colleagues not to commit the peace and existence of the realm upon a question so utterly hopeless. Does he flatter himself that in the present temper of Englishmen, *this nation will consent to make war upon Ireland for the sake of her 1,600, or 1,800 churchmen, and her 22 bishops*? It is no entertainment for such an hour as this, to fight against principles with parchments. When the church of Ireland exclaims, ' Will you rob me of my property?' she is answered, ' Why have you abused your trust?' Why have you diverted from uses ecclesiastical to uses personal—from the poor to the

"pluralist—those ample revenues which originally were designed for distribution between the 'Bishop, the fabric of the church, the poor, and the clergy?' Two of these claimants, indeed, have been provided for,—the bishop and the rector have swallowed up all. But the 'fabric of the church' is kept from dilapidation by interminable taxes *upon the very poor* themselves, from whom *their rightful portion* of the church revenues has been wrested! This can never stand. We have long ago declared, and are daily more persuaded, that *composition will no longer do*,—that *commutation will not do*,—that any effort by mere violence, to coerce the Irish nation into a payment of tithe, must bring at once the state itself into a desperate and fatal collision with the people. There is no discredit in capitulating sometimes with necessity; but there is little honour in provoking an enemy by whom the battle has, morally speaking, been already won. The members of the tithe committee must feel much embarrassed by the conversation in the House of Lords on Tuesday. If Government or Lord Grey should, from the outset, have pre-arranged the policy to be adopted, and if that policy be the absolute maintenance of tithe, *cui bono* the ceremony of a committee?"

Here you see, Sir, not only my opinions, not only my doctrines, not only my arguments and my projects, but my very words; and this too, let it be observed, in a paper which has been most foully calumniating me for thirty years, and never more foully than because I put forth the very opinions and the very arguments that this paper itself now puts forth. Nay, at this very time, and perhaps in the very same number of the paper, it is uttering some calumny or other against me. ANNA BRODIE is the widow of a parson. The proprietors and writers also have a deep interest in the continuance of the church establishment. Judge you, then, how clear their conviction must be, that nearly the whole of the people who are in a situation of life to purchase dear newspapers,

wish for the adoption of the measures which I have so long been recommending. With very few exceptions, the whole of the "race that write" have a mortal hatred towards me; would do anything short of loss of bread, rather than contribute towards the increase of my political fame. They, who never pray for any other object, are upon their knees morning and night, imploring the devil to prevent my predictions from being verified, and my projects from succeeding: all the whole tribe, broad-sheet, narrow-sheet, magazines, reviews, pamphlets, flying bulletins; no matter of what religion, or of what degree of infidelity, here they all unite heart and hand: and yet, and I beg my Lord GREY to observe it, they are all now pushing at the trough, and striving for the reputation of having the greatest share of the swill.

Now, I beg you, Sir, towards whom I am so far from bearing any disrespect, that I wish to see you again a member of our county; I beg you not to disregard this decided indication of the public mind; for it is my firm conviction that if you be not ready to pledge yourself to propose or support a measure for the abolition of tithes, you will never again be returned for the county of Surrey. However, leaving that matter for the present, and supposing, as I suppose, you to be actuated by motives much more laudable than the motive of desiring merely to be a member of Parliament, let me endeavour to draw your attention to the subject of the hierarchy in Ireland in the first place; and then to the state of England with regard to matters connected with the church.

You will recollect, perhaps, the petition which you presented to the House of Commons in 1829, signed by me, and merely praying that the Protestant church establishment in Ireland might be by law "*repealed, abrogated, abolished, and rendered for ever after prostrate and of no effect.*" This prayer I supported by a statement of facts and of arguments; when you received this petition you informed me that you did not agree either in the principles or the prayer of it, and that,



therefore, you could not support it. In answer, I told you that I was sorry that you did not agree with me in opinion, but that I should be quite satisfied with its being presented by you, leaving you at perfect liberty to express your dissent from its contents. You did present it in a very proper manner, expressing your dissent, according to your intimation, from me. I then told you, at the time when I published the petition, that the time was not distant when you would change your opinion; and I believe that that time is close at hand, if it have not already arrived.

I will presently insert this memorable petition. It is a *showing of cause* in behalf of oppressed and insulted Ireland. It is the ground, as lawyers would call it, for a rule to show cause why the Protestant hierarchy in Ireland should not be abolished; and, up to this day, no man has ever answered the grounds which I laid for the rule. I wish to call your attention to the circumstances under which this petition was presented. The *Emancipation Bill* had just been passed: its advocates, who formed a very great majority of both Houses of Parliament, insisted that the passing of that measure would *tend to the security of the Protestant establishment in Ireland*. This was asserted over and over again by all the speakers in favour of the measure; and PEEL'S-BILL-PEEL's justification with his constituents, the University of Oxford, was that this measure, so far from being injurious to the Protestant establishment in Ireland, was *necessary to the security of that establishment!* Was this man the greatest fool or the greatest hypocrite that ever opened a pair of lips? Neither, you will say; for hundreds of others said the same thing; and, upon this ground amongst others, that bill was passed.

Now, Sir, I have nothing to gain by the Government acting wisely in the present crisis: if it were to act with the wisdom and the energy of Solon, joined to the valour and promptitude of Caesar, it would not thereby put a single penny into my pocket. If it tear Ireland to pieces, it will not thereby tear a pig or a bunch of carrots from me. As affect-

ing my reputation for talent and knowledge, it would do more for me by its folly than by its wisdom. If I preferred my own fame, and even my own probable greatness, to the good and honour and happiness of my country, I should pray for my advice to be rejected. I wish it not to be rejected. I wish, of course, to be known to have been right; but I most anxiously desire that the country may be saved from the perils with which it is surrounded; and it is with the hope of giving effect to that desire that I now beg you once more to read my petition of 1829. If upon reading that petition over again, you should imbibe the conviction that you were in error when you expressed your dissent from its contents, that will be a great thing accomplished. The Government cannot disregard such an opinion in a man like you. It is impossible but others should join you in the efforts which that change of opinion would prescribe. By possibility you yourself, then, might be the cause of snatching out of the hands of the Ministers the dreadful scourge which they appear to be preparing for Ireland. I here stop, hoping that you will do me the honour again to read this petition with attention, and the further honour of reading the remarks which I shall have to subjoin to it, and which are called for by the awful circumstances of the present hour.

*To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.*

THE PETITION OF WILLIAM COBBETT, OF BARNES, IN THE COUNTY OF SURREY,  
Most humbly sheweth,

That your petitioner prays your Honourable House, that the Protestant Church of Ireland, as by law established, may be, by law, repealed and utterly abrogated and abolished; and that this prayer he founds on the facts which he, with the greatest respect, will now proceed to submit to your Honourable House.

That, until the year 1547, the Catholic religion was the only religion known in Ireland: that, after the Protestant religion was introduced into England, it was, by law, made to be the religion taught in the churches in Ire-

land; that a Protestant clergy were made to supplant the Clergy of the ancient religion; that the latter were turned out of the livings and the churches; that the altars were pulled down and the Mass abolished, and the Protestant Table and Common Prayer forcibly introduced in their stead.

That the people of Ireland saw with great indignation this attempt to force upon them a new and strange religion, and to compel them to abandon and become apostates to that religion in which they had been born and bred, that religion which had been the religion of their fathers for many centuries, and the truth, purity, and wisdom of which were so clearly proved by its happy effects.

That, therefore, the people rejected this new religion, of the origin of which, or of the authority by which it was imposed on them, they had, and could have, no idea; but that the Government of England persisted in compelling the Irish to submit to an abandonment of the ancient and to an adoption of the new religion.

That, in order to effect this purpose, clergymen to officiate in the churches of Ireland were sent from England, and that to these the tithes and other Church-revenues were all transferred, leaving the Catholic clergy to beg or starve; but that, such was the abhorrence which the Irish people entertained at the thought of apostatizing from their religion, that they shunned as they would have shunned deposits of deadly pestilence those churches, to which they had before resorted with punctuality and zeal surpassed by the people of no nation on the earth; and that, still clinging to their faithful pastors, they secretly sought in houses, in barns, in woods, in caves, amongst rocks, or in fastnesses of some sort, the comforts of that communion to which they no longer dared to resort in open day.

The Government, irritated at this contumacy, as it was called, but fidelity, as it ought to have been called, resorted to means the most tyrannical, the most cruel, and even the most ferocious, in order to subdue this pious fidelity; that it inflicted fine, imprisonment, torture, or death, and sometimes two or three of these all upon the same person; that it confiscated not only innumerable estates belonging to Catholics, but whole counties at once, on the plea that this was necessary in order to plant the Protestant religion; that the lands thus confis-

cated were given to Protestants; and that, in reality, the former owners were extirpated, or made little better than slaves to the intruders.

That, however, in spite of acts of tyranny, at the thought of which Nero and Caligula would have started with horror, which acts continued to be enforced with unabated rigour for more than 200 years; that in spite of these acts of fining, confiscating, plundering, racking, and killing, all having in view one single object, that of compelling the people to conform to the Church as by law established; that, in spite of all these atrocious acts, these matchless barbarities of two hundred years, the people of Ireland, though their country was frequently almost literally strewed with mangled bodies, and made red with blood, adhered with unshaken fidelity to the religion of their and of our fathers; that in spite of death continually looking them in the face; in spite of prisons, racks, halters, axes, and the bowel-ripping knife; in spite of all these, their faithful priests have never deserted them; and that the priests now in Ireland are the successors of thousand of heroic martyrs, many of whom were actually ripped up and cut into quarters.

That, nevertheless, the new Church, by law established, got safely into her possession all the property that had belonged to the ancient Church; and that she took all the tithes, all the parsonage-houses, all the glebes, all the landed estates, which in Ireland are of immense extent and value; so that Ireland, for nearly three hundred years, continued to exhibit, and still exhibits, the strange sight of an enormously rich established Church nearly without flocks, and on the other hand, an almost mendicant priesthood with flocks comprising the main part of the people; it exhibits a religious system, which takes the use of the churches from the millions, and gives it to the thousands; that takes the churches from that religion by the followers of which they were founded and endowed, and gives them to that religion the followers of which protest against the faith of the founders and endowers, and brand their religion as idolatrous and damnable.

That your petitioner can form an idea of no being short of a fiend, in point of malignity and cruelty, capable of viewing such a scene without feelings of horror; and, therefore, he is confident, that your Honourable House, still, as he hopes, animated with the benevolen-

spirit which led to the recent enactment in favour of the persecuted Catholics, will hasten to put an end to a scene so disgraceful, and to injustice so flagrantly outrageous.

That it must be manifest to every one, that there could be, for giving the vast revenues of the Church of Ireland to a Protestant Clergy, no ground other than that those revenues might be applied in such manner as to cause the main body of the people to become and remain Protestants, and that too of the communion established by law: that those revenues, on the most moderate estimate, amount to three millions of pounds sterling a year; that several of the Irish bishops have, of late years, left, at their death, personal property exceeding, for each, two hundred thousand pounds; that the deaneries and prebends, and other benefices in the Church of Ireland, as by law established, are of great value; and that your humble petitioner is sure that your Honourable House will not deem him presumptuous, if he take it for granted, that your Honourable House will allow, that it is impossible that any Government in its senses, that any but tyrants, and mad tyrants too, would have given these immense revenues to the Protestant clergy, unless with a view, and in the confident expectation, of seeing the people, or a large part of them at any rate, converted to the Protestant faith, and joining in the Protestant communion; for, that, otherwise, it must have been evident, that those immense revenues could only serve to create division, and to perpetuate all the passions hostile to the peace and prosperity of a country.

That, however, at the end of two hundred and seventy-six years, there are, in Ireland, even a less number of Church Protestants than, as your humble petitioner finds good historical reason for believing, there were a hundred and eighty years ago; and that it is a fact generally admitted, that the Church Protestants in that country have long been, and still are, decreasing in number, compared with that of the Catholics, and also compared with that of those Protestant sects who stand aloof from her Common Prayer and Communion; that it is an undoubted fact, that, in many parishes, there are scarcely any Protestants at all; that in some parishes there is not one; that throughout the whole country, there is not, on an average, more than one Church-Protestant to every six

Catholics or Dissenters; and that, while the Catholics are shut out of the churches founded and endowed by their forefathers of the same faith, and while these churches are empty, or at best echo to the solitary voice of the stipendiary agent of the opulent and luxurious non-residing incumbent, the Catholics are compelled, either to abandon the public practice of their worship, to build chapels at their own expense, or, which they are frequently compelled to do, kneel down on the ground and in the open air.

That, if your Honourable House will hardly be able to refrain from expressing deep indignation at the thought of a scene like this (existing, apparently, with your approbation), it would be presumption, indeed, in your humble petitioner, to attempt to estimate the feelings with which you must contemplate the present state of the Irish Church, as by law established, and the present application of its prodigious revenues.

That there are in Ireland 3,403 parishes; that these are moulded into 515 livings, and that therefore each parson has on an average the tithes and glebes of more than nine parishes; that this is not the worst, however, for that many of the livings are united, and that the whole 3,403 parishes are divided amongst less than 350 parsons; that of the 3,403 parishes there are only 139 that have parsonage-houses, so that there is now remaining only one parsonage-house to every 24 parishes, and only 465 that have any churches, or one church to seven parishes; and that even in these, residence of the incumbent, or even a curate, seldom takes place for any length of time; that the Church, as by law established, would seem to be merely the means of making out of the public resources, provision for certain families and parsons; that of the four archbishops and eighteen bishops of the Irish Church, as by law established, there are, as your petitioner believes, fourteen who are, by blood or marriage, related to Peers; that a similar principle appears to your humble petitioner to prevail in the filling of the other dignities and the livings; and that therefore the Irish Church, as by law established, really does seem to your humble petitioner to exist for no purpose other than that of furnishing the Government with the means of bestowing largesses on the aristocracy.

That, though this must, as your petitioner

presumes your Honourable House will believe, be a great evil, it is attended with evils still greater than itself; that to expect, in such a state of things, a willing payment of tithes and clerical dues, would be next to a trait of madness; that the tithes are often collected by the aid of a military force, and that bloodshed is not unfrequently a circumstance in the enterprise; that it is manifest that, if there were no military force kept up, there could be no tithes collected; and that, therefore, to the evil of the present application of the Irish Church revenues, is to be added the cost and all the other evils arising from the keeping up of a great standing army in Ireland; that, besides this army, there is kept on foot an armed, and sometimes, mounted police establishment, costing an immense sum annually; that it is clear that neither army nor police would be wanted in Ireland, were it not for the existence of the Church Establishment, which the Catholics and Dissenters, who form six parts out of seven of the people, must naturally, and notoriously do, detest and abhor; that, therefore, while the Irish Church, as by law established, appears to your humble petitioner to be kept up as a source for supplying Government with the means of bestowing largesses on the aristocracy, the army and police appear to him to be required solely for the purpose of giving efficiency and permanence to that supply.

That hence arise, as your humble petitioner firmly believes, all the discontents, all the troubles, all the poverty, nakedness, hunger, all the human degradation in Ireland; and this belief he finds upon facts which are undeniable.

That, when the Reformation laid its merciless hand on Ireland, that country, blessed with a soil and climate as good as any in the world, had 649 monasteries and other foundations of that nature; that it had a church in every parish, instead of having, as now, one church, on an average, to seven parishes; that it had then a priest in every parish, who relieved the poor and repaired the church out of the tithes; that it had, in the monasteries and in the bishops' palaces, so many points whence the poor, the widow, the orphan, and the stranger, received relief; and that it had (greater than all the rest) *unity of faith, glory to God with one voice, peace on earth, and good will towards men.*

That, alas! your humble petitioner need not tell your Honourable House, that these have all, yea all, been swept away by the means made use of to introduce, establish, and uphold the Protestant hierarchy; that these means are still in practice, and are, in productiveness of turmoil and misery, as active and efficient as ever; and that, as long as this hierarchy shall continue to exist, these same means must, your petitioner is convinced, be employed constantly and with unabated vigour.

That, therefore, your humble petitioner prays that your Honourable House, proceeding upon the clear precedents set by former Parliaments, will be pleased to pass a law to repeal, abrogate, abolish, and render utterly frustrate and of no effect, the Protestant Church now established by law in Ireland; that you will be pleased to cause a just distribution, in future, of the tithes and other revenues now received by that Church; that, in this distribution, you will be pleased to cause to be made effectual provision for the relief of the poor; and that you will be pleased to adopt, relative to the premises, such other measures as, in your wisdom, you shall deem to be meet.

And your petitioner will ever pray.

*Barn-Elm, April 20, 1829.*

WM. COBBETT.

Is it possible for any man to read the statement of the facts contained in this petition, without thinking with indignation and horror of the conduct of those who are now calling for the *blood* (for that is the *end of it*) of those who refuse to pay tithes in Ireland? Call as long as they will, however; blood or blood not, those tithes will, I verily believe, not be collected another year either in *England* or Ireland. It is I that proceed to work in the *proper manner*; namely, I propose to the people to pray for an abolition of tithes. Men may pray, surely! I show how the tithes came; how they were applied till this church came; how they are applied now; and what the law ought to do respecting them. I recommend all to be done by law; but if the law do not come to our relief in this matter, then I say that *REFORM will be a despicable farce.*

But it is in *England* that the Irish tithe-payers have now to look for

friends, and not, as formerly, for *subjugating foes!* Every ill that Ireland has had to endure, has arisen from there always having been in *England* a disposition to *keep the Irish down*. This disposition exists, I thank God, no longer; and as to tithes, *the cause is a common one*. The Irish are only *taking the lead*; and, at this point, this making both countries cordially join in this matter, I have long been labouring.

I wish, in this number of the *Register*, to bring together as much fact and argument as I can, relative to this great subject, on which, at last, *the great struggle will turn*. I will, therefore, insert below the petition which I presented at PENENDEN HEATH, in October, 1828. The TORIES carried a petition against reform, because the WHIGS proposed EMANCIPATION, *and nothing else*. I presented, at the same meeting, the petition which I shall presently insert. I read it to the meeting, and sent it to the sheriff to be read and put by him, which that impudent vagabond refused to do. I told Mr. Sheil, who was present at that meeting, and who spoke there, that he spoke in vain; for that the people of England cared not a straw about Catholic Emancipation; but cared a great deal about the abolition of tithes. In my petition, therefore, I introduced matter which, if the people of Kent could have heard it read, they would have agreed to unanimously. This petition contained the whole case of both England and Ireland; and for this very reason the sheriff would not put it to the meeting. However, it did not prevent its effects; and those effects, Sir, will now communicate themselves to your mind, if you read the petition attentively, and have a mind ever again to be a member for Surrey.

*To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.*

The Petition of the people of Kent in County Meeting convened on Penenden Heath, this 24th day of October, 1828,

Most humbly sheweth,

That your petitioners called together by the High Sheriff of the county for the purpose of deliberating on the propriety of pe-

titioning Parliament to adopt such measures as are best calculated to support the Protestant Establishment in Church and State; and being of opinion that neither Church nor State stands at this time in estimation as high as that in which they might stand, hope that your Honourable House will not deem them presumptuous if they beg leave to be permitted to point out to your Honourable House the measures which they deem best calculated to ensure the important object propounded to them by the High Sheriff.

That, with regard to the Church establishment, your humble petitioners perceive a great and growing lukewarmness towards it, an unpopularity approaching towards loathing and hatred, and a rapid and constantly increasing decline in the numbers of its flocks, whilst those of the Catholics, and of every description of Dissenter, are increasing in a like proportion: a fact which clearly shows that the Church owes no part of its decline to a want of religious feeling amongst the people.

That your humble petitioners are convinced that this lukewarmness, unpopularity, and disgust, have arisen, not so much from any general and rooted dislike to the doctrines and ritual of the establishment, as from the conduct of a considerable part of its Clergy, and more especially from the flagrant misapplication of its immense temporalities.

That, with respect to the conduct of the Clergy, your humble petitioners, while they would fain obliterate from their own memory, as well as from that of all mankind, many deeds, from the punishment due to which the dignified parties have been shamefully screened, cannot disguise from themselves, and will not disguise from your Honourable House, that the beneficed Clergy, in general, have become lax in their manners and their morals, given in an immoderate degree to luxurious enjoyment, habitually spending their time in places of fashionable, not to say criminal, resort, and, as if this island were a sphere too limited as a scope for dissipation, quitting the kingdom in great numbers, thus drawing from their parishes (more than one-half of which they hold in pluralities), a great part of their substance to be expended upon their own pleasures, while the Care of the parishes is left to stipendiaries, who, from the miserable pittances they receive, are wholly unable to perform even the smallest part of those duties of charity and hospitality, to ensure the constant performance of which, as well as for the teaching of the doctrines of religion, the revenues of the Church were granted.

That it is well known to your Honourable House that all the temporal possessions of the Church, whether tithes, glebes, college lands, abbey lands, or, of what description soever, were founded on the basis of *charity*, and were granted, not to the Clergy for their own use, but in *trust* for the good of the na-

tion at large, and, especially, for the relief and the comfort of the poor, the widow, the orphan, and the stranger; and that it is also well known to your Honourable House, that in Catholic times, there were no poor-rates, no church-rates, and no paupers, and that the poor were relieved, the strangers assisted, and the churches built and repaired out of the tithes and other revenues of the Church; and that it is further well known to your Honourable House, and but too well known to your humble petitioners, that the tithes, and the rest of the revenues of the Church, have, by degrees, been entirely alienated from their original purpose—that the Clergy now take the whole to themselves—and that the poor are relieved, the wandering stranger assisted, and the churches built and repaired out of the taxes raised on your humble petitioners—which taxes, for the whole of England and Wales, amount annually to nearly eight millions sterling, of which, at the date of the last return, four hundred and eighteen thousand two hundred and eighty-one pounds, fell annually upon the county of Kent.

That your humble petitioners, sufficiently sore at reflecting upon these well-known facts, hardly know how to restrain their feelings, when they look at the present state of this their own country, so highly favoured by nature, once so renowned for its good living, its freedom, and its happiness—but now so depressed and pauperized by the heavy hand of taxation, and especially by the unmitigated and increasing exactions of the Clergy; that, yet, even these they might bear with some degree of patience, if a due performance of religious duties were the consequence; but when they see that the tithes of the four hundred and twenty-seven parishes of their county are in the hands of less than two hundred Rectors and Vicars, many of whom have Prebends and other benefices in addition; when they see that eighty-seven of the parishes have no parsonage houses that the luxurious and haughty incumbents think good enough for them to reside in; when they see that there are seventy-five parishes which have no parsonage-houses at all; when they see that there are thirteen parishes which have absolutely no churches; when they behold this scene of abandonment, dilapidation, and devastation, and reflect, that at the same time, even in the parishes which have no churches, the tithes are exacted to the last blade of grass; and that there are forty-four parishes, each having less than one hundred people, and yet having tithes exacted from them with the utmost rigour: while your humble petitioners behold all this, and see themselves taxed at the same time, for the purpose of building new churches to be put into the hands and to add to the revenues of these same Clergy—when they thus behold and thus reflect, they do, they confess, feel their

bosoms swell with feelings, from an expression of which, they are restrained only because they can find no words commensurate with the nature and character of the case.

That, however, if your petitioners were so unjust and barbarous as to find, or so cowardly as to affect to find, consolation from reflecting that their sufferings yield in point of severity to those inflicted by the same hand on others, they might find such consolation in contemplating the treatment of their unhappy fellow-subjects, the Catholics and Dissenters in Ireland, in which part of the kingdom all the abuses above enumerated, exist in a degree ten-fold greater than in England; that, in that oppressed country, there are 3,403 parishes; that the tithes and glebes of all these are received by less than 350 Rectors and Vicars, even the livings being only 515 in number, and that, of course, each Parson has on an average, the tithes and glebes of more than nine parishes; that, of the 3,403 parishes, there are only 139 which have parsonage-houses, and that, consequently, there is but one parsonage-house to every 24 parishes; that in the 3,403 parishes there are only 465 churches, so that there is but one church to seven parishes; that in this state of things, the Church of England people have become less and less in number, until, at last, there is not more than one person of that religion to every six who are Catholics or Dissenters; that in many parishes there are not more than five or six churchmen in a parish, and that, in others, there are none at all; and that, yet, the Catholics and Dissenters, who, while they build and repair their own chapels and support their own ministers, are compelled to pay tithes exacted in the most rigorous manner, to a Clergy whom they seldom see, and of whom they often know not the names; are harassed by the tithe-proctors and by processes issued frequently by the parsons themselves, acting as magistrates, and are, by the proctors, aided by armed men, frequently stripped of every thing in the world, even to the last potatoe, and their last rag of clothing; so that, throughout whole districts, the wretched people are, at times, reduced to a state of rage, produced by the cravings of hunger, and by feelings of revenge; that here your humble petitioners find the true cause of all the discontents, all the violences, all the horrid acts of blood, which are constantly making their appearance in that unhappy country; here, too, your humble petitioners see the cause of those laws passed of late, for transporting Irishmen beyond the seas (and that, too, without Judge and Jury), for being out of their houses, for any fifteen minutes at one time, between sunset and sunrise; and here, also, your petitioners see the true cause that they themselves are compelled to pay heavy taxes for the support, in the time of profound peace, of a large standing army, for which they can discover

no real use other than that of keeping their Irish fellow-subjects in this horrible state of subjection, oppression, and degradation.

That your humble petitioners, reserving, for the present, the prayer which they have to offer to your Honourable House, relative to a remedy for the enormous abuses in the Church, proceed now to state to your Honourable House, that it is their decided opinion that the dangers which menace the State, arise solely from a want of reform in your Honourable House, and that to this source also they directly trace the above-mentioned conduct of the Clergy, and the gross misapplication of the temporalities of the Church.

That your Honourable House have now upon your table a petition, which you received from the hands of Mr. Grey (now Earl Grey) in the year 1793; that in that petition it was asserted, that peers and other great men, only 154 in number, returned *at their own pleasure, a decided majority of your Honourable House*, at the bar of which House the petitioners were ready to prove the truth of their assertions; that your Honourable House received the petition, denied not the facts, but permitted not the petitioners to be heard at your bar; and that your humble petitioners, in this County Meeting assembled, deem it to be perfectly notorious, that the state of the representation has not improved since the time when the aforesaid petition was presented to your Honourable House.

That your humble petitioners would be filled with surprise and wonder at finding that they have to pay taxes to support hundreds upon hundreds of pensioned and sinecurist Lords, ladies, and children, male and female, without it being, in many cases, even pretended that they, or that any one belonging to them, have ever rendered any service to the country; that your petitioners would be surprised to find, that while the nation has only 15 Foreign Ministers in employ, it has actually to pay 57 Foreign Ministers, and to pay altogether a sum which they believe to surpass that which is paid for the same purpose by all the other nations in the whole world; your petitioners would be surprised to find, that the nation has to pay one Field Marshal or one General for every 163 private soldiers in the army, including non-commisioned officers, five Generals to every regiment of soldiers, and one commisioned officer to every four private men; that your petitioners would be surprised to find, that the nation has to pay two Admirals for every one of the ships of the line, one Admiral for every 140 sailors, and one commisioned officer, exclusive of Midshipmen, for every five sailors; that they would be still more, if possible, surprised to find, that a million and a half of money has been voted out of the taxes for the relief of the poor Clergy of the

Church of England, especially when they looked at the above-mentioned monstrous pluralities, and knew that many of the Bishops have lately died, leaving from two to four hundred thousand pounds each in personal property for the aggrandisement of their families; that the surprise of your petitioners would surpass all power of utterance in finding, that military and naval half-pay had been given, out of the taxes, to men, who were, at the same time, receiving tithes and other emoluments, as Clergymen of the Established Church; that, in short, the least incredible of these things would appear to your humble petitioners sufficient to astonish an indignant world; but that, when your petitioners reflect on the averment of the petition of 1703, that a decided majority of your Honourable House was returned by 154 persons, partly Peers and partly great Commoners, and when they further reflect that your Honourable House is the sole imposer and the sole guardian and the sole distributor of the public money; when they thus reflect, and forget not that, in the year 1808, a return laid before your Honourable House stated, that your Honourable Members yourselves received amongst you 178,994*l.* a year out of the public money; when your humble petitioners thus reflect, all ground of surprise vanishes at once, and the only question with your anxious and humble petitioners is, how long they, and their country, are doomed yet to behold this state of things?

That your humble petitioners, convinced that there can be no peaceable termination to their sufferings and the disgrace of their country, until this mighty cause of mischief be removed, most humbly and most earnestly pray, that, as the best, and, indeed, the only means of supporting, for any length of time, the Protestant Establishment in Church and State, your Honourable House will, first, pass an Act to make a Radical Reform in your Honourable House, and that you will, next, pass an Act totally abolishing all clerical tithes both in England and Ireland, appropriating the rest of the Church revenues for the relief of the poor, leaving the Clergy the use of the churches, the parsonage houses, and the glebes, and, if more be necessary for their support, leaving that support to come from their own flocks, in like manner as it now does to the Priests and Ministers of our Roman Catholic and Dissenting fellow-subjects.

And your humble Petitioners will ever pray.

All that I shall add here is the expression of a hope that Lord Grey will well consider the contents of this petition, before he attempt to act upon the advice of the lofty Signor Ellenborough, in getting a new law passed, for attach-

ing the bodies of those Catholics who refuse to pay tithes, and to give Easter-offerings to a clergy who represent the Catholic religion as idolatrous and damnable. During the debate, in which the lofty Signor gave his advice, and a report of which will be found in another part of the *Register, PLUNKUT*, as the Irish reporters call him, observed that the refusal to pay tithes in Ireland arose from ignorance and want of education in the people. This very same PLUNKUT, in the year 1819, justified the Six Acts upon the ground that the people were now become too *enlightened*; that they read too much to be suffered to enjoy the liberty of the press, which they had enjoyed up to that time, so that this PLUNKUT has always a justification for everything, either in the people's enlightened state, or in their state of ignorance.

Here I conclude my remarks upon this subject for the present; but, in the articles which I shall insert below, you will find even more powerful reasons than those which I have stated, for changing your opinion upon this subject, and strongly recommending you to read these articles at present,

I remain, Sir,  
Your most obedient,  
humble servant,  
W.M. COBBETT.

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CHURCH REFORMERS' MAGAZINE  
FOR  
ENGLAND AND IRELAND.

I HAVE this day (14th Feb.) received the first number of this work, which ought to be read, and which will, in a short time, be read by every well-educated man in England and Ireland who cares anything at all about the fate of this kingdom. The contents of the first number are as follows:—

Art. 1.—Title and design of this publication, with a sketch of the origin, progress, and present state of the question of Church Reform; and the views and intentions of the Church Reformers.—Tithes before the Reformation.—Effects of the Reformation on Church property.—Abuses in the Church generally.—State of the Reform question in Ireland.—Committees on Tithes in Ireland.

—Plans of the English Church Reformers.  
—What is to be done with impropriate tithes.

Art. 2.—Property in Tithes.—A Legal Argument, showing that Tithes are the Property of the Public and of the Poor. By WILLIAM EAGLE, Esq.

Art. 3.—Welsh Curates and Irish Curates.

Art. 4.—State of the Church in the Isle of Ely.

MONTHLY RETROSPECT.

England.

Public meeting at Leeds, and resolutions respecting the Irish poor and tithes.

Camberwell New Church job.

More Bishops in India.

Ireland.

Tithe battle at Knocktopher.

Petition from the Political Union of Ireland for the total and instant abolition of Tithes and Church-rates.

Irish tithe-proctors and process-servers.

Subscription for the relief of the Protestant Clergy.

Miscellaneous intelligence relative to the state of public feeling in Ireland.

Speeches at the Irish National Political Union.

Parliamentary Intelligence.

The first article it is of great importance that every one should read. It is a brief, but a very clear account, not only of the origin of tithes and of other church-property, but of the application of them, and of the grounds of the opposition to their collection which at present exists. It will be read by every Englishman and every Irishman with the greatest satisfaction; and so far am I from thinking it necessary to apologize for its length, that I am sure my readers will receive it as one of the most valuable services ever rendered them by this book of mine, during the thirty years that it has been published.

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ART. 1.—Title and design of this publication; with a sketch of the origin, progress, and present state of the question of Church reform, and the views, intentions, and plans of the Church reformers.

This being, as the reader will perceive, the first number of the CHURCH REFORMERS' MAGAZINE, it may be naturally expected that we should give some account of the title and object of the work. With respect to the title, it will perhaps be objected, that it is too general in its signification to be affixed to a publica-

tion, which, it will be seen, is intended to be devoted to the consideration of the question of church reform in regard to temporal matters only; but as it is notorious that this is the sole object of the great body of church reformers, and that they are commonly known by that appellation, and that no disposition has been manifested by any considerable portion of the public to interfere with the spiritual doctrines of the church, we entertain very little apprehension that the title which we have chosen will create any misconception as to the real nature and object of this work. And we take this opportunity of stating, that we shall always use the terms church reform and ecclesiastical reform in the limited sense to which we have just alluded, that is to say, with reference to the temporalities of the church only.

The next duty imposed upon us is, to explain the design of this publication; and this we shall do as plainly and as briefly as the nature of the subject will permit; for upon this point we think that the work should in a great measure speak for itself. The title that we have selected, and what we have already stated on that subject, have rendered it almost unnecessary for us to declare that it is our intention to support the cause of ecclesiastical reform; but as there are ecclesiastical reformers of all sorts and degrees, and even the bishops themselves profess to be church reformers, we feel that the public have a right to expect from us a more explicit declaration of our opinions. We have no disposition to maintain any reserve upon this head; but we think that the nature of our undertaking requires that we should, in the first place, give a short sketch of the principal abuses which now prevail in the church establishment, and also take a general historical survey of the origin, progress, and present state of the question of church reform, and the views and intentions of the church reformers. For this purpose it will be necessary to go back to the time of the Reformation.

Before the Reformation, the possessions of the church consisted, as they now do, principally of lands and tithes.

With respect to the lands, they consisted, first, of the lands belonging to the secular clergy, viz., bishops, deans, prebendaries, parsons, and vicars, including the ancient glebe lands of the parish churches, that is to say, the glebe lands with which the churches were endowed at their first foundation. These glebe lands, at the time of which we are now speaking, were not wholly in the possession of the parochial clergy; a very considerable proportion of them was in the possession of the abbots and priors of religious houses, to which they had been from time to time appropriated as parcel of the parsonages to which they were annexed. They consisted, secondly, of the lands belonging to the religious houses, hospitals, chantries, free chapels, &c., which, as it is well known, were very numerous both in England and Ireland. The lands of the religious houses, or monasteries, as they were commonly called, very far exceeded in quantity and value all the other ecclesiastical possessions which we have just enumerated.

With respect to the tithes, which form the most important branch of our present inquiry, the greater part of them was, at the time of the Reformation, in the possession of the secular incumbents of parish churches, that is to say, of parsons and vicars having cure of souls; but a very large part of them had been appropriated to monasteries, in the manner which we have already mentioned with reference to glebe lands. For on these occasions the monasteries usually reserved the most valuable tithes, and left the remainder, together with a portion of the glebe, to the vicars, or deputies whom they appointed to perform the spiritual duties in their stead. This was the origin of vicarages, and of what are now called appropriate and impropriate rectories and tithes. The number of parsonages thus appropriated was 4,845.\* But besides these appro-

\* These parsonages, where they are in the hands of spiritual persons and corporations, are still called appropriations; where they are in the possession of laymen, they are termed impropriations: there are in England at the present day more than 1,000 of the former, and about 3,845 of the latter.

priate tithes, the monasteries were also in possession of certain small parcels of tithes, which were granted to them before tithes were made payable to parish priests by the general law of the land. These are now called portions of tithes. We have no exact account of the quantity of land which belonged to the religious houses, nor of the value of their possessions generally; which was no doubt considerably underrated in the ecclesiastical survey made in 26 Henry VIII. But it has been said by historical writers of good repute, although there is perhaps some exaggeration in the statement, that it amounted to a third part of the rental of the whole kingdom of England; their possessions were proportionably large in Ireland.

The enormous wealth of the secular and regular clergy of England and Ireland before the Reformation, has been constantly urged by Protestant historians and writers, as a reproach upon the Roman Catholic church, and they have spoken in terms of unqualified approbation of the measures by which the regular clergy, that is, the religious houses, were stripped of their possessions, in the reign of Henry VIII. Indeed, on barely looking at the amount of their revenues, the imagination is shocked, and our indignation is excited, at finding it so vastly disproportionate to the religious wants of the inhabitants of the two kingdoms; but upon inquiring into the real nature and character of the establishment, to the support of which those revenues were appropriated, we shall very soon discover that it was very far from deserving all the odium that has been so unsparingly cast upon it.

Notwithstanding so much has been written within the last few years to remove the popular prejudices on this head, it is still a very common error to suppose that the revenues of the Roman Catholic church were applied solely to the support of the secular clergy and monks, and the maintenance of divine worship, and the other ceremonial duties of religion. The truth is, that all the possessions of the church, of whatever nature or kind, were originally and essentially eleemosynary as well as reli-

gious; that is to say, the possessors were bound by the tenure or condition by which they held them to give alms to the poor. With respect to the purposes for which the lands and tenements of the monasteries were given to them, we need only cite the statute of 35 Edward I., in which it is expressly recited that they were given to the intent "that sick and feeble men might be maintained, hospitality, alms-giving, and other charitable deeds might be done." As to the tithes, they were not only generally consecrated to the same pious and charitable purposes, but a specific proportion of them, namely, one-third part, was assigned for the relief of the poor, and was received by the clergy as mere trustees for that particular purpose. In short, it is a fact which cannot be disputed, that up to the time of the Reformation, the poor were for the most part maintained by the parochial clergy and the religious houses. We shall presently see how completely this distribution of the revenues of the church was changed by the Reformation, and how powerfully that change has operated, even at this distance of time, in producing a state of things which seems to portend a second reformation of the temporal establishment of the church, perhaps, more sweeping than the first.

The Reformation produced several very important changes in the temporal affairs of the church,—first, in respect to the regular clergy, it swept away all the manors, lands, inappropriate parsonages, tithes, and other possessions of the religious houses, which were transferred to the crown and its grantees, who consisted principally of the aristocracy and ecclesiastical corporations; secondly, in regard to the secular clergy, their possessions were, it is true, left untouched, but they were enabled to marry, which, it will be seen, occasioned a very great alteration in the application of their revenues; and, thirdly, it produced a close and mercenary alliance, or rather, an identity of temporal interests between the church and the state, which has subsisted down to the present time. These were the principal causes of that perversion of tithes and other

ecclesiastical possessions from their original and legitimate purposes, which is now become the subject of universal complaint, and indeed forms the main object of our present inquiry.

It is worthy of observation that the statute of 27 Hen. VIII. c. 28, which dissolved all monasteries which did not possess more than 200*l.* per annum, imposed upon the grantees of the crown the obligation of maintaining hospitality in the houses and precincts of such monasteries, and that this duty is also expressly recognised in many of the grants of Hen. VIII., but no similar provision is to be found in the statute of 31 Hen. VIII. relating to the greater monasteries; but as the duty or trust was not abrogated by those statutes, it cannot be doubted but that the possessions of the religious houses passed to the grantees subject to that general eleemosynary trust; and that, as to the tithes, they continued liable to the additional specific trust which has been already mentioned. It is, however, certain that all these trusts and duties were, shortly after the Reformation, wholly neglected, not only by the lay and ecclesiastical possessors of abbey lands and tithes, but also by the parochial clergy. It is more than probable that the laity were the first delinquents; and it is easy to perceive how their example must have operated upon the clergy, who, it must be remembered, were now permitted to marry. We are no advocates for the celibacy of the ministers of religion, but it would argue a very imperfect knowledge of the weaknesses of humanity if we were to attempt to deny that the claims of wives and children must, in very many instances, have proved too powerful for the faithful discharge of those fiduciary duties, which, by their original institution, and by a perfectly consistent policy, were intended to be performed by an unmarried priesthood. But we are not to suppose that it was the mere force of the example set by the lay proprietors of abbey lands and tithes, which influenced the conduct of the Protestant clergy; it was the certainty of impunity afforded by the circumstance, that a

large and powerful body of the laity, and of the aristocracy in particular, were participators in the spoil.

The poor being thus deprived of the public provision assigned for their relief out of the tithes and other ecclesiastical possessions, were left to depend wholly upon private charity; but this proving insufficient for their support, although it was encouraged by several acts which were passed for promoting the collection of voluntary alms, it became absolutely necessary, not only for the sake of humanity, but for the public safety, to resort to a compulsory legislative enactment. The course which justice would have prescribed on this occasion would have been, to restore and enforce the system which prevailed before the Reformation; and this measure would undoubtedly have been adopted, if the question had concerned ecclesiastical persons only; but the crown and the aristocracy were now interested in opposing it; and therefore, instead of assessing the church and abbey lands and tithes to the relief of the poor, the legislature passed the statute of 43 Eliz., which is the foundation of the present system of poor-laws, and which, as is well known, makes no distinction between ecclesiastical and lay property. But, still, this statute did not release the church and abbey lands and tithes from the obligation of relieving the poor, to which they were liable by their original institution.

We have thought it right to make this statement relative to the ancient mode of maintaining the poor, because it is now become a matter of great public interest, and because, by a just and signal retribution, the burden of the poor-rates, which was cast upon the laity in the manner already mentioned, is now urged, on the ground of justice as well as expediency, as one of the strongest objections to the continuance of the tithe system.

The next subject that we are called upon to notice, is that which we have just alluded to, namely, the tithes. It would require a volume to describe the various evils, abuses, and pernicious consequences of this system; and a

considerable portion of this publication will necessarily be devoted to its consideration; we shall therefore for the present content ourselves with remarking, that it is considered by all church reformers as the greatest and most intolerable of all the grievances of the church establishment, and, as Lord Lyndhurst has observed, is constantly placed by them in the front of the battle. We cannot, however, avoid mentioning, that the odium against tithes has been very materially increased of late years by the greediness and rapacity of the tithe-owners, both lay and ecclesiastical; by their invasions and encroachments upon rights which were sanctioned by immemorial usage and enjoyment; and the unjust and partial decisions of the courts of law and equity, and more especially the Court of Exchequer. We shall hereafter produce instances of the truth of what we now assert.

With respect to the other abuses of the ecclesiastical establishment in England and Ireland, we shall barely enumerate them, as we fear we have already exceeded the just limits of this article. The enormous revenues of the church, its useless and expensive dignities, sinecures, and pluralities, the clerical magistracy, the political subserviency of the clergy, and the ecclesiastical courts; these have all contributed to raise the tempest of ecclesiastical reform, which has been for some time gathering from every quarter, and now seems ready to burst upon the temporalities of the church. It is, however, impossible to allude to the political conduct of the clergy without calling to mind that they have always been the stanch and zealous supporters of that horrible and grinding system of taxation, the burden of which has been one of the principal causes of the present outcry against tithes, and which, by producing a state of things that renders it absolutely necessary that some part of the burden must be thrown off, has, independently of all other reasons, rendered the destruction of tithes inevitable at no very distant period. Nor can we pass over in silence the parliamentary conduct of the bishops

upon the three most important questions which have agitated the public mind for many years past, namely, the proceedings against the late Queen Caroline, the Catholic emancipation, and above all the late Parliamentary Reform Bill; for it is certain, that the course pursued by them on those occasions has tended very materially to produce the conviction, which is now become almost universal, that it is absolutely necessary to exclude the clergy from the exercise of every species of temporal power and authority.

It now becomes necessary to make some observations upon the present state of the church-reform question. The expression of public opinion in favour of ecclesiastical reform has been, for some time past, so strong and unequivocal, that it is unnecessary, in this place, to say much on that head; but it has hitherto made little or no progress in the legislature, nor in truth is it to be expected that any substantial reformation of ecclesiastical abuses will be accomplished, or even attempted, during the existence of the present House of Commons; but it is almost certain that it will be one of the first questions which will occupy the attention of the reformed Parliament; indeed, it is manifest from the signs of the times, that it is a measure which cannot be much longer delayed. The burst of tumultuous acclamation with which every denunciation of the abuses of the church, and particularly tithes, is invariably received at public meetings, the resolutions of political unions, the numerous books, pamphlets, and tracts, which are constantly issuing from the London and provincial presses, relative to ecclesiastical reform, and the able, zealous, and determined manner in which it has been commented upon and supported by the leading journals and other publications of the day; all these things, even without the warning given to the bishops by the Prime Minister are indications not to be mistaken but by those who are wilfully blind, that the time is arrived when it is become absolutely necessary for the clergy "to set their house in order."

In making these allusions to the present state of public opinion, we have treated it with reference to England only ; we must now turn our attention to Ireland. We are, however, anxious that it should be clearly understood that we have separated the consideration of this subject, as it regards England and Ireland, not because we are so ignorant as to imagine that the general question of church reform is not substantially the same in both countries ; but because, owing to political and local causes, which we shall not here attempt to describe, popular opinion has, in Ireland, assumed, to say the least, a more unequivocal and determined aspect. The wrongs of Ireland are a subject which has exhausted all the powers of eloquence ; but no language can describe the calamities which ages of civil misrule, and ecclesiastical tyranny and oppression, have brought upon that unhappy country. It is therefore no wonder that, in Ireland, church reform is no longer merely a matter of opinion and discussion, but of *action* ; in Kilkenny, Carlow, Queen's County, and a great part of Wicklow, and in Wexford, Tipperary, King's County, Longford, and Westmeath, there has for some time past existed a general and systematic opposition to the payment of tithes ; and the Protestant clergy have, in many instances, been reduced to absolute poverty. Mr. Stanley says,—

" Cattle had been seized in default of payment, and the plan was resorted to of confining them within doors in the day time, and letting them out during a short period of the night. If they were sent to graze in the day, scouts and signals intimated the approach of the officers of the laws, and they were driven off ; when seized, no opposition was offered to the laws ; they were impounded and brought to sale. No man, however, would expose himself to the odium of becoming a purchaser, and the tithe-collector was obliged to purchase them himself. They were taken to a distant market : no man would provide them provender, or give them a night's shelter. They were escorted by the

" police to the sea-shore, for the purpose of being sold in the markets of this country ; but resolutions had been entered into even in this country, that no man would buy Irish cattle, branded and brought to sale for the payment of tithes."

But this is not all, not to mention minor disturbances, the interference of the armed police in enforcing the demands of clergymen, Protestant, Christian clergymen ! ! has led to the most horrible scenes of violence and bloodshed. At Newtownbarry, and more recently at Knocktopher,\* fresh victims have been added to the long and sanguinary list of twenty-six thousand human beings who, within the previous thirty years, had been sacrificed to the enforcement of the tithe system.†

The cry of universal horror and indignation which followed the massacre of Newtownbarry, which at once revealed to the people of England the real cause of the complaints of the Irish people, and of their systematic opposition to the payment of tithes, as well as the utter inefficiency of the tithe composition act, appears to have forced upon the Government the conviction that, to use an expression which is now become perfectly familiar to our ears, "Something must be done," which, by the way, in its popular acceptation, signifies everything that is necessary to be done, and without governments, means just as much as they find that the people are determined to extort from them. In pursuance of the recommendation contained in the King's speech at the opening of the present session, committees of the Lords and Commons have been appointed to "examine into the payment of tithes in Ireland and the laws relating thereto." We do not pre-

\* An account of this sanguinary conflict is given in our Retrospect.

† Mr. B. Osborne, at the great aggregate meeting of the county of Wexford, held July 30th 1831, said, "I have taken the laborious trouble to search accurately the files of some Irish journals, and I have found that no less than six-and-twenty thousand persons have been butchered, in twenties and tens, during the last thirty years, in the enforcement of this system."

tend to be acquainted with the intentions of the Government, but if we may judge from the speeches of Lord Melbourne and Mr. Stanley, the result of the deliberations of the committees will be anything but satisfactory to the people of Ireland. No reduction of the burden of the tithes appears to be contemplated; the shape of the thing is to be altered, but its weight is not to be diminished. According to Mr. Stanley's argument, it is the mode, and not the amount of the payment, that constitutes the grievance of the Irish tithe system. Mr. Stanley, however, ought to be well aware, that the Irish tithe-payer does not merely complain of the fashion of his chains, but of their weight and pressure, which are grinding him to the earth. Mr. Stanley is therefore in favour of a land commutation; this, to be sure, is foolish enough; but Lord Melbourne, with the scene at Newtownbarry fresh in his recollection, actually suggests to the committee, "whether it would not be *wise* to make the composition act compulsory throughout the kingdom." This is not the time, if our limits would permit, to discuss the propositions which we have just mentioned, but with regard to that of Mr. Stanley, we cannot refrain from making a few observations upon it. Ireland contains about 18,000,000 English acres of land, of which, after deducting the church and tithe free lands, and inappropriate tithes, 14,000,000 acres at least are subject to ecclesiastical tithes. Now, supposing the commutation in land to be allotted in the proportion commonly adopted in tithe commutation acts in England, the Irish clergy would be entitled to a seventh part, viz., 2,000,000 acres of the titheable lands. This, added to the 1,000,000 acres now in ecclesiastical hands, would appropriate 3,000,000 acres, or one-sixth of the whole soil of Ireland, to the support of a temporal establishment of a religion which, taken at the highest, is professed by only a fourteenth part of the whole community. It is almost needless to ask, whether this be a plan likely to remove the complaints of the Irish peo-

ple; and whether, in particular, the Catholics and Presbyterians are prepared to give up a seventh part of their lands to the support of the clergy of a church with which, to use the mildest expression, they hold no communion; for after all that has been written and said about the vexation of tithes, we are convinced that this is felt to be one of the greatest grievances of the tithe system, both in England and Ireland. In short, it is a question which, in our opinion, can be satisfactorily settled only by a reformed Parliament. We are too well acquainted with the present state of Ireland not to be fully aware of the danger of delay; but as we think that ineffectual measures will merely tend to aggravate the evil, we venture to suggest, that the safest, and indeed the only course which the present Parliament can pursue, will be to pass a short act to suspend all further payment of tithes in Ireland, until the question can be finally disposed of by a House of Commons composed of the real representatives of the people.

With respect to the views and intentions of the church reformers, which are the next subject of consideration, we have already stated that there are church reformers of all sorts and degrees: but, without pretending to be perfectly accurate on this head, we think that the great mass of church reformers may be divided into the three following classes. First, those who propose no other measure of reform than what they are pleased to call an amelioration of the tithe system, that is, either to pass a compulsory or voluntary tithe composition act, or to give a perpetual rent charge or a part of the land itself, by way of commutation, in lieu of tithes in kind. A bill for facilitating compositions for tithes has been several times brought into the House of Lords by the Archbishop of Canterbury; but the provisions of the bill, and the quarter in which it originated, prove, beyond all doubt, that it was brought forward for the double purpose of stifling the cry for ecclesiastical reform, and increasing the revenues of the clergy. Indeed, this seems to be the real object

of all the various composition and commutation projects which have been lately laid before the Parliament. This sort of tithe reform, which is however scarcely worthy of that name, has, we believe, very few advocates except amongst the lay and clerical aristocracy, the beneficed clergy, and others who are directly or indirectly interested in tithes. With respect to the Archbishop's bill in particular, it is easy to imagine the feeling with which the clergy must regard a measure which would at once augment their incomes, and relieve them from the trouble, expense, and odium, of collecting tithes in kind. Upon the whole, it is quite certain that the composition and commutation scheme will not be abandoned without great reluctance by the aristocracy and clergy; we shall therefore defer our observations upon it until it is again brought before the legislature.

In the meantime, we cannot help remarking, that although the outcry against tithes owes its origin in a great measure to the vexatious character of the tithe system, and this was at first the only grievance complained of by the tithe-payers in their petitions to Parliament, it is now almost lost, or, as lawyers would say, merged, in the general complaint against the intolerable burden of tithes, and their perversion from the charitable purposes for which they were originally instituted. The second class of church reformers comprises those who propose that all tithes belonging to ecclesiastical benefices shall be sold, and the produce of the sale applied to the discharge of the national debt; and that the parochial clergy shall receive stipends from the state in proportion to their services. With respect to this last proposition concerning tithes, we cannot refrain from observing, that the political economists, by whom it is principally supported, seem to have wholly overlooked, or at all events have not sufficiently considered, a question which we apprehend will raise a very serious if not an insuperable objection to their project, that is, whether it will satisfy the parties who are most interested in reform-

ing the tithe-system, namely the tithe-payers, under which name we include the consumers as well as growers of titheable produce, which, it is well known, comprises everything that is necessary for the food of man. We cannot bring ourselves to believe that the tithe-payers, who it must be remembered are the aggrieved and complaining parties, will be satisfied with any measures which would merely occasion an alteration in the mode of paying tithes, or of the persons to whom they are to be paid, without any diminution of the burden. It is, we think, the height of absurdity to imagine that the tithe-payers, who are the authors and principal agitators of the question of tithe reform, and who alone possess the power of carrying any effectual measure of reform, have been labouring to pull down one tyrant, merely for the sake of setting up another.

The third class of church reformers consists of those who support the three following propositions: 1. To sell the ecclesiastical estates and property of every description now possessed by the bishops, for the use of the public; and to assign to them out of the general revenues of the state, a provision suitable to the episcopal character and functions; and also to deprive them of their seats in the House of Lords; and to render the clergy in general incapable of holding the office of justice of the peace, or exercising any temporal power or authority whatever of a public nature; and in particular to suppress all the ecclesiastical courts. 2. To abolish all deans and chapters, and other unnecessary dignitaries of the church establishment; and to sell all their estates, and apply the produce of the sale to the service of the public. 3. To abolish tithes of every description; and to sell all the lands now possessed by the parochial clergy except the ancient glebes; to permit the incumbents of benefices to retain the churches, the parsonage and vicarage houses, and the ancient glebes; and for the rest, to leave them to the voluntary contributions of their congregations. This third class, of which we are now speak-

ing, comprises, we have good reason to believe, a very great majority of the people of England, and is daily increasing in numbers. It should, however, be observed, that there are many persons belonging to this class who, although they agree in the justice and propriety, and indeed the necessity of abolishing tithes, are nevertheless in some difficulty in regard to what is to be done with the tithes which are in the possession of the lay-impropriators who they think are entitled to receive a compensation for that part of the tithes which they do not hold in their capacity of trustees, that is to say, one-third part.

With respect to our own opinions on the subject of ecclesiastical reform, we think fit to avow them openly, not from any vain notion of their importance, but from a desire that there shall be no room for any misconception as to the character and object of this publication. We have, then, no difficulty in declaring that we concur in the three propositions maintained by the third class of church reformers. With respect to the lay-impropriators, we are not prepared to agree with those who think them entitled to a compensation for tithes to the extent which we have already specified. We should entertain very little doubt as to the reasonableness of their claim to that extent, indeed we should at once come to a conclusion in their favour, if we could be brought to consider them as being, what they now represent themselves to be, mere laymen, and *bona fide* purchasers of *lay* property for a valuable consideration. But it appears to us that they are neither fish nor flesh, or rather, they are like the bat in the fable, sometimes bird, sometimes beast, as best suits their purposes. Their ecclesiastical character and privileges, which it must not be forgotten are of a public nature, have been used by them as weapons for the perpetration of the grossest acts of injustice. Availing themselves of the benefit of the ecclesiastical maxim of *nullum tempus occurrit ecclesiae*, which they have enforced even with more severity and greediness than their purely spiritual brethren, they have

in numerous instances overturned exemptions from tithes and moduses, which had been quietly enjoyed for centuries, and by these means have enormously increased the value of their tithes. In their ecclesiastical character they have long been, to adopt the expression of Lord King, the arch-disturbers and spoliators of vested interests and inheritances, and therefore they must not expect to be permitted to drop their ecclesiastical cassock all at once, and to stand before the public as mere laymen, claiming protection for "*vested lay interests*," because it happens to be convenient for them to do so at the present moment. We content ourselves with throwing out these hints for the present, because we are only giving a general outline of the question of church reform; it will hereafter be our duty to examine the rights of lay-impropriators in all their bearings.

With respect to the objects of the church reformers of Ireland, we pass over, for the present, Mr. O'Connell's project to abolish tithes as the incumbents die off, and the resolutions of the Irish political union, as fit subjects for separate discussion; and shall only state our conviction that nothing less than a very great reduction of the revenues of the Protestant hierarchy and a total abolition of tithes will, or ought, to satisfy the Irish people. These measures are, in our opinion, absolutely necessary to prevent a constant repetition of the dreadful scene of Newtownbarry and Knocktopher,—scenes which, however they may be lamented, cannot be wondered at.

It is now time we conclude this article; but before we do so, we are desirous, with all possible deference to the judgment of the advocates for church reform in England and Ireland, to impress upon their minds the policy, and indeed the necessity, of establishing an immediate and close union between the church reformers of the two kingdoms; they are engaged in the same cause; and the people of Ireland are, in truth, now contending, not for their own rights only, but also for those of the people of England. Circumstances alone have

placed the Irish people in the front of the battle. There can be no doubt but that the united efforts of the church reformers of England and Ireland, if properly directed to the concentration of public opinion, and the collecting and diffusing of information relative to the abuses of the church, and promoting petitions to the legislature, would give such a stimulus and weight to the cause of church reform, as would very speedily produce a peaceable settlement of that question to the entire satisfaction of the people of both countries.

A few words more respecting ourselves: we are members of the church of England, and as we sincerely wish to reform, and not to destroy it, we shall not be diverted from our endeavours to promote the cause of ecclesiastical reform, by the imputations of irreligion, infidelity, and atheism, which the clergy are accustomed to cast upon every one who proposes any reform in the church established, and which, we are well aware, are bestowed much more liberally upon those who, like ourselves, propose merely to interfere with their temporal possessions, than upon those who impugn the spiritual doctrines of the church, or even Christianity itself. We should not, however, do justice to ourselves if we were not to state our belief that the measures of temporal reform, of which we have declared ourselves the advocates, will not only not prove injurious to the church, properly so called, but are absolutely necessary to preserve it from destruction. We would sacrifice a considerable part of the temporal wealth of the church in order that its spiritual and essential parts may remain unimpaired;

Immediabile vulnus  
Ense recidendum est, ne pars siucera trahatur.

In this respect we differ widely from the clergy and the other self-styled defenders of the church, who, by their obstinate resistance to reform, have plainly shown that they would rather expose the whole establishment to destruction, than give up what, at best, is a mere appendage to the church, and is now become a scandal and a reproach to it. At all events, we are convinced that

although the measures of reform which we support *may*, the want of such reform *must*, inevitably destroy both the temporal and spiritual establishment of the church.

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From this same Magazine I will now take two short articles, either of which is quite sufficient to induce an honest Member of Parliament to take an oath never to shave or to wash himself until he had seen these abominations put an end to by law. The first article is entitled "*Welsh Curates and Irish Curates*," and is in the following words:

THE poverty of the Welsh curates has long been notorious, and indeed proverbial. The following description of the condition of one of that unfortunate class of persons is taken from a pamphlet entitled "Church Regeneration and University Reform, by Morgan Jones, Esq."

"There is in North Wales a clergyman of the establishment who actually receives no more than the sum above specified (10*l.* or 15*l.*) per annum. "He has a wife and six children. In the day-time he contrives to scrape together a few pence, by conducting a boat, in which passengers cross a river; he is the barber in the village, shaves for a penny every Saturday night; and five evenings of the week he teaches the children of the poor villagers reading and writing, for which he receives a small acknowledgment. "When will this scandal to the church be blotted out? O ye ecclesiastical potentates, for one moment lay aside your silken attributes, stop your postilion at the foot of Snowden, and visit a poor afflicted brother. A Welsh curate seldom tastes animal food. His means will scarcely furnish his table with a meagre allowance of bread and potatoes."

With great deference to Mr. Jones, we think that it is not necessary that their Lordships should be put to the trouble and the expense, which they can so ill afford, of travelling as far as Wales.

Unless they prefer going in "search of the picturesque," we recommend them to pay a visit to the curate of Lakenheath, in Suffolk, whose case has been recently laid before the public, and at the same time to take an account of the ecclesiastical possessions in that parish. They manage these things much better in Ireland. In that land of ecclesiastical abundance, the hierarchy and the government do not suffer the curates to languish upon stipends insufficient to procure them the necessaries of life; such, at least, is the conclusion which we have ventured to draw from the following specimen of Irish curates. The honourable Charles le Poer Trench is curate of Monasterboice, in the diocese of Armagh, but the stipend being, we presume, insufficient for his decent maintenance, he has also been made—Archdeacon of Ardagh (patron, the archbishop).

Vicar-General of Tuam (patron, the archbishop).

Vicar-General of Clonfert (patron, the bishop).

Prebendary of Faldown, Diocese of Tuam (patron, the archbishop).

Rector and vicar of Athenry, Abbert, and Dunmaeloughy; in the Diocese of Tuam (patron, the archbishop and the crown alternately).

Rector and vicar of Dunleer, Moylary, Dysart, Hippock, and Drumcar; in the Diocese of Armagh (patron, the King).

An ancient author, Xenophon we think (for it is long since we left school), informs us that in Persia it was the custom to assign certain tracts of land to the defraying of the expenses of the wardrobe of the queen, and that each of such districts was called by the name of some particular article of her dress; thus, for example, one estate was called "the Queen's girdle." Now, as the clergy have always been emulous of regal state, witness the palaces and thrones of the bishops, we think that there can be no great impropriety in supposing that the various preferments of the curate of Monasterboice have been bestowed upon him for a similar purpose, and might be distinguished by appropriate names,

after the Persian fashion. Accordingly, Ardagh might be called his "Shovel hat;" Tuam, his "Wig;" Clonfert, his "Cassock;" Faldown, &c. &c., his "Wine-cellar," &c. &c., and Monasterboice, his "Snuff-box." But, to be serious, before we conclude, we cannot help expressing our admiration of these splendid acts of charity and liberality towards a curate; there can be no doubt that when they come to be sufficiently known, they will go a long way towards removing the odium that has been cast upon the hierarchy of Ireland.

So that this fellow, who is the *curate* of one place, is an archdeacon, is a vicar-general in two several dioceses, is a prebendary in another diocese, is a rector and vicar of eight parishes besides; but then, observe, this fellow belongs to the family of Clancarty, the brother-in-law of Castlereagh and of Londonderry.

The other short article from the Magazine is entitled "State of the *Church in the Isle of Ely*." Ely is the see of a bishop, and this island, abounding in churches, corresponding in magnificence with the beautiful cathedral in that town; and being besides perhaps the very richest spot in all England, in proportion to its extent, this Isle of Ely and this cathedral establishment are, by the clergy, treated in the manner which the reader will perceive from the following article.

#### *State of the Church in the Isle of Ely.*

The following letter from a correspondent, exhibits in a very striking point of view three of the most crying abuses of the church,—useless and burdensome dignitaries and offices, non-residence of the clergy, and the enormous value of church benefices; and therefore we make no apology for inserting it. It is an epitome of the ecclesiastical state of the whole kingdom. Our correspondent has, however, we perceive, omitted the minor canons of the cathedral of Ely, and has not stated how many pluralists are included in the list of incumbents. We have

endeavoured to supply this deficiency in regard to the chapter of Ely, by an additional statement, showing the total value of their respective preferments.

(*To the Editor of the Church Reformers' Magazine.*)

SIR,—I beg leave to send you the following statement of the condition of the established church in the Isle of Ely. You will find that throughout that opulent,

extensive, and populous district, there is in reality but *one resident incumbent*: for the incumbents of the two small vicarages of Whittlesey can only be considered, as far as regards the keeping of hospitality, as curates to the lay proprietors. There may perhaps be some trifling inaccuracies in the statement, but the annual incomes of the several livings are very far from being exaggerated.

Names.	Benefice.	Yearly Value.	Residence.
Dr. B. E. Sparke.	Bishopric of Ely.	£. 12,000	Resides for about a month at Ely occasionally.
J. Wood.	Deanery of Ely ( <i>Mastership of a College, and a Rectory, total value £.3650 per annum</i> ).	1600	Resides at Ely one month in the year.
G. Jenyns.	Prebend ditto ( <i>two Vicarages, £.1950 per annum</i> ).	800	Ditto.
H. Fardell.	Prebend ditto ( <i>three Rectories and a Vicarage, £.2900 per annum</i> ).	800	Resides in the palace, letting his prebendal house.
E. Parke.	Prebend ditto.	800	Resides at Ely one month in the year.
W. W. Childers.	Prebend ditto ( <i>a Rectory and a Vicarage, £.1400 per annum</i> ).	800	Ditto.
G. O. Cambridge.	Prebend ditto ( <i>Archdeaconry and two Rectories, £.3100 per annum</i> ).	800	Ditto.
H. T. Dampier.	Prebend ditto ( <i>a Rectory and a Vicarage, £.1800 per annum</i> ).	800	Ditto.
J. H. Sparke.	Prebend ditto ( <i>Chancellorship and three Rectories, £.3100 per annum</i> ).	800	Resides in the palace, letting his prebendal-house.
E. B. Sparke.	Prebend ditto ( <i>two Rectories and a Vicarage, £.1900 per annum</i> ).	800	Ditto.
— Cambridge.	Elm R., a sinecure.	2000	Non-resident.
J. Jackson.	Elm V.	800	Ditto.
W. G. Townley.	Upwell, Outwell, Welney R.	3000	Ditto.
E. Peak.	Manea-cum-Coveney.	800	Ditto.
<b>The Prebendaries of Ely take the great tithes of these 7 places.</b>	Stuntney. Chettisham. Ely, St. Mary. Ely, Trinity. Thetford. Witchford. Witcham.	value unknown.	There are no resident incumbents or curates in these places.

Names.	Benefice.	Yearly Value.	Residence.
— Sparke.	Littleport.	£ 1200	Non-resident.
H. Baber.	Streatham.	1200	Ditto.
H. Law.	Downham.	1200	Ditto.
Mr. Serj. Pell ( <i>Lay Impropriator</i> ).	Wilburton.	800	A resident curate.
J. Blick.	Wentworth.	400	Non-resident.
E. Leathes.	Sutton-cum-Mepal.	1500	Ditto.
A. Peyton.	Doddington, March, Wimblington, Benwick.	8000	Ditto.
— Chatfield.	Chatteris.	1200	Resident.
— Sparke.	Wisbeach.	3000	Non-resident.
H. Sparke.	Leverington.	4000	Ditto.
E. Cook.	Whittlesey, St. Mary.	—	Resident.
—	Ditto St. Andrew.	—	Ditto.
Archdeacon of Ely.	Haddenham.	400	Non-resident.

I presume the above list will require little comment. A society ought to be immediately formed to collect information respecting the amount and application of the revenues of the church; unless indeed the Government would (as they ought to do) issue a commission for that purpose, which must be done sooner or later.

I am, &c.  
ELIENSIS.

Now, readers, will a reform of the Parliament be worth one single straw, if enormities like this be suffered to exist for one day after that Parliament shall meet: if one single day shall be suffered to pass without steps being taken, preparatory to a general measure for wiping off from the nation the deep stain of suffering this disgraceful thing to exist? For my part, I would scorn to call myself the representative of any town or any county that would not pledge itself to stand by me, to the last extremity, while I endeavoured to sweep away this intolerable mass of abuses.

To gentlemen in Ireland, I beg leave to observe, that, if they wish the thing

to be done effectually and quietly, they must have the hearty concurrence and co-operation of the people of England. I beg the gentlemen of Ireland to look attentively at the third paragraph from the end of the above-inserted address of the editor of the Magazine. He there invites them to co-operation. He there tells them that the people of England are looking up to them, as in the front of the battle. This useful co-operation cannot be carried on more effectually than by correspondence with the editor. The Magazine is published by Mr. EFFINGHAM WILSON, of the Royal Exchange, London. I perceive that it is advertised as being sold by Mr. Wakeman, No. 9, Dolier-street, Dublin. Now it would be of the greatest possible utility if gentlemen in Ireland would make communications to the editor, through his publisher Mr. Wilson, respecting particular instances of tithe oppression in Ireland, and of church monopoly. The names of the parties should be given, and the communication should be signed by the name of the writer. It would be useful to com-

municate as soon as possible to the editor respecting the extent of the refusal to pay tithes in Ireland, and respecting the manner of proceeding in the business from the beginning to the end. Mr. Stanley's account of the manner of scoring and driving off the cattle, of preventing their march about the country; of guarding them to the shore by police, in order to send them to England for sale; of the resolutions entered into in this country not to buy Irish cattle brought over for sale for the payment of tithes: Mr. Stanley was very obliging in giving us this information, of which the editor of the Magazine has taken care to avail himself. This fellow Stanley began his political career by eulogising parsons and tithes; and he will see the latter totally disappear before he has proceeded in his career much farther. In conclusion I venture to say, that no publication that we have seen come the press in my time, has contained so much really useful information as we are likely to get through the channel of this Magazine. This will be a book of really "*useful knowledge*," which is the title that BROUGHAM-VAUX gives to the rubbishy Scotch stuff that he is putting forth, and which is sometimes sent *gratis* about the country, under treasury franks, and of course postage free, while I am compelled to pay fourpence for a stamp, in order that my writings may go by the post.

### DEBATE OF TITHES.

(*From the Morning Chronicle.*)

HOUSE OF LORDS, 7, Feb. 1832.

Earl GREY rose to present several petitions to their lordships. The first was from Stonehouse, praying that the Reform Bill might pass into a law; the second was from Waterford, praying for additional members to Ireland; the third was from Castlebar, with a similar prayer, and in particular demanding that Mayo should have an increase of members; the fourth was from silk-manufacturers at Macclesfield, praying for further protection for the silk-throwster; the fifth was from Yeovil, praying for protection to the glove-manufacture; the last was from the inhabitants of a parish in Ireland, praying for the abolition of the church-rates and vestry-cess, the abolition of tithes, and

the appropriation of the church lands to the support of the poor. With respect to this petition, there was nothing improper in the wording of it, and in presenting it, he conceived that he was only performing a ministerial duty; and it was not on that account to be supposed that he approved of the measures prayed for, or that, if they were proposed by others, that he would give them his most determined opposition. Under the circumstances of the case and the time, he had thought it of urgency to bring forward a proposition to improve the condition of the clergy of Ireland; but at the same time, he had never for one moment thought of looking at any measure but one which would secure the clergy of Ireland in their just rights, and remove the complaints caused by the present system. He admitted that he had looked with no satisfaction at the misrepresentation which had got abroad; and he thought it necessary to state, that while in Ireland a combination to resist the payment of tithes was continued, and while it continued to spread, he felt it was absolutely necessary, *before anything else*, that the legislative authority and the laws should be *vindicated*, and that *measures should be adopted* to secure the successful exertion of the power placed in the hands of the Government. That power certainly should be and had been exerted to secure the rights of the clergy; and if it were found insufficient, he had no hesitation in saying, that he would propose to their lordships to give further powers to the Government, if that were rendered necessary, to suppress the resistance.

The Earl of WICKLOW expressed his satisfaction at hearing the declaration of the noble Earl, and regretted that a similar one had not been made before. If such a declaration had fallen from the noble Earl, or from any other member of the administration, before the proposal of forming a committee had been submitted to Parliament, that would have made the Irish, he believed, more contented than at present with tithes, and would have prevented much mischief. He believed that the proposition for appointing the committee, unaccompanied by such a declaration, had produced a great deal of evil which the committee would never remedy. He doubted whether the strongest exertions of the Government would get the better of this mischief.

Earl GREY was certainly pleased that the noble Earl was satisfied with what he had done, but he regretted that the noble Earl should have found fault with what he had omitted. From the opinions which he had always held, and which he had always expressed, he could have no suspicion that any person would ever attribute the present evils to him. (Hear, hear.) He had no reason to believe that such an imputation could be thrown upon his Majesty's Government. (Hear.) If he had then supposed such a de-

claration necessary, he would have made it; but on every occasion that he had spoken on the subject, he had, on the part of his Majesty's Government, expressed a determination to enforce the law; and Ministers had not thought that any further expression of their opinions was necessary. (Hear, hear, hear.) Certainly the powers entrusted to Government would be fully employed; but he must say, that pains had been taken to propagate in Ireland false opinions concerning the intention of his Majesty's Government. He thought that the manner in which the Government had exercised the power entrusted to it, was a sufficient answer to these imputations, and that there was no occasion for the Government, when it could refer to its acts, to make use of many expressions. He certainly had thought those facts sufficient; but as the misrepresentation continued, he felt disposed to avail himself of the opportunity more emphatically, but not more sincerely, than on former occasions, to state that it was the resolution of the Government to employ all the authority with which the law invested it, and exert all its power to maintain the just rights of the clergy. (Hear, hear.)

Lord ELLENBOROUGH referred to the papers submitted to the Lords' Committee and laid on the table of the House, and said, if the noble Earl had laid those papers on the table when the motion was made for appointing a committee, the noble Earl would then certainly have made the declaration he had now made. As early as last November it was stated to the people of Ireland that the Government was not favourable to the tithe system, and that it would not prevent the spoliation of the clergy. The noble Earl was aware that the whole people were aroused by the expectation of the measures of the Government, and that as long as that expectation continued, not knowing what might ultimately be the arrangement, the rights of the clergy were necessarily suspended. All the evils which were described in the papers laid on the table, must necessarily be increased. While there were any doubts existing as to what were to be the relations between the tithe-receiver and the tithe-payer, it was impossible to expect that the clergy would expose themselves to danger by exercising their rights, and impossible to expect that the tithe-payers would continue to pay that of which they expected at no distant day to be relieved. Since the appointment of the committee it had been stated, as he expected, that all the evils of the system had not only continued but increased, and had extended to other counties and other parts of the country in which previously no profession of resistance had been made. Under the present circumstances, the Government certainly ought to lose no time in coming forward, as the noble Earl had done, to vindicate the authority of the law and maintain the rights of

the clergy. Unless that were done, and done rigorously and speedily, the resolution to resist the payment of tithes would be extended, and the payment altogether resisted. It was impossible that this evil could continue without leading to other dangers. That must be the case in all countries, and particularly in Ireland, where the people were accustomed to think that all rights were only concessions to force; and this state of things could not continue in Ireland without endangering rent. Whatever proposition the Government might have to make, it ought to lose no time, and the noble Earl should enforce the law for the maintenance of the rights of the clergy. He would venture to suggest that it was most desirable that an investigation should immediately take place into the state of the existing laws as to enforcing the rights of the clergy, what remedies were provided for them, and if it were necessary to make any further provision. He was not aware if this had been done. He thought it was most desirable that the clergy should be enabled by some *speedy and cheap process* to attach *not only the property but the persons of the tithe payers*, and to recover his dues. As the law now stood, there was no power of breaking up the combinations, and nothing could effect that but a *cheap and speedy method of attaching the person*. He would venture likewise to suggest, that if the law was not at present sufficient, some *strong measure should be passed* to enable the Government to prosecute any individuals arraying themselves against the payment of tithes. It was not only *illegal to resist tithes*—and for that certainly the parties might be prosecuted—but there should be likewise a power of proceeding against those who *advised such a measure*; for such advice, whether illegal or not, must tend to subvert the tithe system. These were matters which he thought worthy of consideration, and which implied that *some new law* was necessary. It was necessary to strengthen the hands of the owners of tithes, the hands of the clergy, and the hands of the Government, in order to enable them to make head against the combination.

The Marquis of LANSDOWNE: After what the noble Baron had stated as to the proceedings of the committee, he thought it as well to state, for the satisfaction of the noble Baron, that Dr. Halloran had given it in evidence before the committee, that every application which had been made to the Irish Government for assistance to support the rights of the clergy had been most promptly and efficaciously granted. It was fully proved by the evidence before the committee, given by persons of various descriptions, and more or less interested in obtaining their legal dues—it was fully proved by the evidence that not a single instance had occurred of any application having been made to the Irish Government, that assistance was not immediately granted. It was not necessary for him to

add anything after this practical demonstration of the Irish Government, and after the declaration of his noble friend, to prove that the Government had made arrangements to repress infractions of the law, and that there was no foundation, in fact, for the assertion that the Government was indifferent to the subject. It was not, however, to be concealed that those who had an interest in tithes, or at least a concurrent interest—it was certain that persons in Ireland had countenanced and confirmed the belief that Government looked with indifference at the infraction of the law. Only this day evidence had been laid before the committee, that to these reports was to be attributed the fact, that the resistance to the payment of tithes was extending to a part of the country in which it was unknown at the time of the appointment of the committee. People had been willing in those places to pay their tithes, looking to the results of the committee as likely to relieve them from the *evils of the system*. The subjects alluded to by the noble Baron had already engaged the attention of the committee; all the members of it were anxious to bring the matter to a speedy conclusion, and lay the result of their inquiries before their Lordships.

Lord CLONCURRY saw that the expectations of the people of Ireland—of justice being done to them by the Committee—had already been of great service in keeping the people of Ireland from having recourse to violence. If the people understood that they might look for redress to the legislature, they would rely on it, but the people would persist in their opposition if they were told that their just rights were not to be attended to.

Lord WYNFORD was understood to say that great exertions were made by the Committee to get at the bottom of the mischief. The existing state of the law had been inquired into, and he could say that it was the same as in England, except that the clergy of Ireland had an additional remedy. He did not agree with the noble Baron who spoke last as to the cause of the mischief. It arose in a great measure, he believed, from the misconduct of the Catholic clergy. It began, he believed, in what he might call the province of Dr. Doyle, who, in his pastoral letters, had declared to the Catholic clergy that those who paid tithes were not fit for the rites of religion here, nor happiness hereafter. He was satisfied, and it was due to his Majesty's Ministers to state, that every effort was made by the committee to get at the foundation of the evil and provide an adequate remedy.

Lord PLUNKETT was not unwilling to trouble their Lordships with a few observations. He was satisfied at perceiving that there was a strong disposition in their Lordships to enter into the question, and promote the measures of Ministers, who thought that they

might give considerable relief to the people, while they expressed their determination to uphold the rights and interests of the clergy. His noble friend, who had introduced the petition, had not thought it necessary, on the occasion of moving for the appointment of the committee, to repeat the declarations he had uniformly made, of his determination to stand by the interest of the church. Often had he heard his noble friend declare this sentiment in his speeches; and he could not agree with those who said that his noble friend had not given many proofs of his determination to stand by the rights of the church. He would observe, that from the nature of the Government, it was absurd to suppose that the Government could ever entertain any intentions unfavourable to tithes. The notion that it was, had not proceeded from the silence of his noble friend, but from injudicious observations which had been put forth in different quarters (hear, hear)! He was not surprised that the lowest classes of the people should entertain a notion that the Government was willing to sacrifice the rights of the church from any notice being taken of the subject. He was not surprised that they credited every report; but he could find much excuse for them in *their ignorance and want of education*. Their expectations were, at the same time, encouraged by persons higher in rank—by persons connected with the clergy—who had led the people, by their assertions, to believe that the Government was opposed to tithes. He regretted very much that persons of high rank and high in place should lend their names to raise suspicion in the minds of the people. It was not to be supposed that those who deprecated his Majesty's Government could really believe that the Government would not support the Protestants of Ireland (hear, hear). Nothing more unwarrantable was ever inferred, if that conclusion was drawn from the appointment of the committee (hear)! Nothing more dangerous, nothing more mischievous, was ever propagated; and it had not one fact to support it (hear, hear)! It was truly said that in many places the people had resisted the payment of tithes, and there were found persons who said that it was the interest of the Government not to support the clergy. Such expressions used against the Government went a long way in some people's minds to warrant suspicion. It was not only the interest of this Government, but it was the interest of every Government to support and protect the rights of the church. Persons who said that the Government was not favourable to the Protestants propagated slander (hear, hear). With respect to the Government with which he was connected, he could say, that it evinced in its acts that it was determined to support the just rights of the clergy. Protection had been offered to them, and assistance to maintain their legal rights. He thought it necessary to say so much to con-

vince their lordships that it was the determination of the Government of Ireland to stand by the rights of the church.

Lord ELLENBOROUGH referred to a circumstance which occurred on the 8th of January, when *an individual exhorted a congregation not to pay tithes, and to allow neither a distress or constraint for them. That was, he concluded, clearly illegal*, and he desired to know if the King's Government had instituted any inquiries to ascertain whether any legal evidence of this conduct could be procured, and if it could, had it instituted a prosecution?

Viscount MELBOURNE replied, that he could not answer as to this particular case, but *he knew that in similar cases inquiries had been instituted, and prosecutions contemplated.*

Petitions laid on the table.

Lord CLONCURRY presented several petitions from different places in Ireland against the tithe system, which were all referred to the committee sitting to inquire into tithes in Ireland.

## BURDETT BECOME AN ARISTOCRAT.

(*From the Chronicle.*)

AT the National Political Union, on Thursday night, Sir FRANCIS BURDETT seemed to consider some of the statements in the Report read that night as aspersions cast on the aristocracy. We have had an opportunity of perusing that document, and we do not think it states more with regard to the body in question than is borne out by fact.

In the account of the circumstances leading to the formation of the Union, the writer mentions—

" 1. The determination with which the aristocracy clung to the power which they possess, and which they have so shamefully abused; the powerlessness of Ministers singlehanded against this obstinate body, which originally called the National Political Union into existence. It was clear, after the rejection of the Reform Bill by the Lords, that the aristocracy would not spontaneously renounce their power: it was equally clear that the Ministers, who felt themselves so weak as to be obliged to conciliate and bow down before a portion of that body, were not strong enough, unaided, to support the claims of the people. In order to afford them the assistance they needed—in order to give a definite form to the public opinion—to create an organ through which that opinion could be efficiently transmitted, the plan of a National Political Union was entertained. The object was to put the wishes of the people at large in organised

array; to give them by union so imposing an appearance, that denial of their demands should be hopeless and direct oppression dangerous.

" At this time also there was yet another circumstance inducing the necessity for a means by which the people might express their wishes. The cry of a re-action in the popular opinion was raised by the enemies of reform. These infatuated opponents of good government had mistaken, or pretended to mistake, the silent and dangerous dissatisfaction of the people for an apathy towards reform. The gloom that was gradually settling upon the public mind, preparing men for the worst, making them to expect and fitting them to encounter all the perils of a violent struggle for good government—this gloomy despair was believed, or pretended to be believed, a quiet acquiescence in the will of the aristocracy; and the most dangerous crisis which has occurred for many years in the history of this country was treated with careless contempt by the headlong and reckless enemies of the people. In order to correct this dangerous mistake on the part of the aristocracy, in order to quiet the alarms and strengthen the purposes of the well-meaning but timid friends of reform, in order efficiently to direct the energies of the ardent and determined, some means for the immediate expression of the popular wishes, in a calm, legal, yet effective manner, was absolutely requisite. To this purpose, a union of all classes interested in good government was proposed, and immediate measures taken to carry this proposal into effect.

" **DIFFICULTIES ATTENDING THE FORMATION OF THE NATIONAL POLITICAL UNION.**—Great and manifold difficulties had to be encountered before the object desired could be obtained. It is of the utmost importance that these difficulties should be fairly stated—should be thoroughly understood. These very obstacles being among the most pernicious of the evils created by a mischievous government.

" Unfortunately, the classes which had to be united, viz. the middle and working classes, stood opposed to one another in a distressing and dangerous hostility. Large numbers of the middle classes had hitherto, from various causes, been either the tame followers or the active supporters of the aristocracy. By the aristocracy themselves, and the writers whom the aristocracy had won by favour or hired by money for the purpose, the middle classes had been too generally taught to believe the working classes lovers of riot, confusion, and spoliation; they were led to fancy them men rendered desperate by poverty, seeking for change in order to grow rich by plunder; they were thus, on the one hand, set against the working classes; while on the other, they were impelled towards the aristocracy by those habits of crawling subservience to all above, and arrogant assump-

tion to all whom they deemed below, which all aristocracies have too successfully inculcated. Thus fear of evil from the working classes, hope of distinction, favour, and reward from the aristocracy, had hitherto rendered the middle classes averse to any union with that part of the people whose interests in fact were and are identical with their own."

SIR FRANCIS said—

"He dissented from the aspersions cast on the aristocracy, and considered it as essentially necessary to have such a body of men in society as it is to have the cathedral of St. Paul complete in all its parts. Degrees were necessary to society. He certainly did not wish to confound the higher or aristocratical orders of society with the oligarchy of the country, or the *boroughmongering* faction that holds in tyrant chains the liberty of the people."

At the Crown-and-Anchor, in 1818, this fellow, in alluding to something that I had said about him, and especially at a prediction of mine, that he would become one of the most stinking of all aristocrats before he died ; upon that occasion he said that he might, for anything that he knew, become an oyster before he died ; but, at any rate, no one could say that he was not a consistent politician ! Under this fellow's own hand, with his name at the bottom of it, we have assertions made by him, upon several occasions, that it was "THE GREAT FAMILIES" that enslaved and beggared the nation ; and upon one occasion we have, under his own hand, an assertion that the country never would be better off *until the leaves were torn out of the ACCURSED RED BOOK* ; and that book contains a list of the royal family and of all the peers. Oh ! but it is the *oligarchy* and the *boroughmongers* that he dislikes, and not the *high aristocracy* ! Indeed ! And who are the *high aristocracy* then, if they be not the "great families ?" And who are the *boroughmongers* except it be Dukes and Marquises, and Earls, and Viscounts, and Barons ? What this shuffling shoyhoy will come to at last it is difficult to say ; but it is evident that he is at present a mere tool in the hands of the aristocracy for nullifying the spirit and rendering ridiculous the proceedings of this polititical union in London, which, by-the-by, is laughed at

from one end of the country to the other ; and chiefly because it has this battered sham-patriot at its head.

### ROTTEN BOROUGH OF WESTMINSTER.

The following article from the *Morning Chronicle* is a puff, written I dare say by Hobhouse himself, the making of whom Secretary of War and a Privy Councillor, is quite sufficient to enable us to judge of the character of this Ministry. This man has been bred amongst the public money, and it would take fire and sword to drive him out of it. However, we shall have the parliamentary reform in one way or another, and then I shall take the liberty to inquire whether we may not be permitted to look into the accounts of those who have been receiving public money. A public accountant is an indelible character. I cannot help hoping that the nation must still be rich if everything be well looked into ; and I certainly should not be disposed to overlook the sums which have been given to Lady Juliana, and to the commissioner of the debts of the nabob of Arcot. There was, it seems, no more to do at the re-election of this man amongst the sordid, besotted, and corrupt wretches of the wen, than there would have been at the appointing of a constable. It was not *market-day* at Covent-garden, so that there were no rotten turnips or cabbages to spare, to be flung at his head, as there were in 1830.

"The appointment of Sir JOHN HOBHOUSE as successor to Sir HENRY PARNELL seems to be generally viewed with satisfaction. Notwithstanding the inuendoes of some of our contemporaries, the *Court Circular* confirms our statement that the retirement of Mr. TENNYSON from office was totally unconnected with political motives, as he was *yesterday sworn in as a Privy Councillor*. This honourable recognition of his services is totally inconsistent with the *Tory* surmise, that differences with the Government had caused his secession. At the same time, this, in other respects, gratuitous

" admission by the King of so deeply-  
" pledged and active a reformer into his  
" Privy Council, furnishes a conclusive  
" answer to those who are *daily in-*  
" *sinuating that his Majesty is now in-*  
" *cined to retreat from the course upon*  
" *which he had entered.*"

*From the LONDON GAZETTE,*

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 10, 1832.

INSOLVENT.

JONES, P., Folkestone, Kent, cabinet-maker.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

BYRON, J. S., Boston, Lincolnshire, draper.

BANKRUPTS.

DAVIS, D. D., Fitzroy-square, boarding-house-keeper.

DAVIS, J., Burton-on-the-Hill, Gloucestershire, auctioneer.

GALE, J., Manchester, carver.

GRANT, D., late of Kensington, builder.

HANNUM, S., Oxford, carpenter.

JACKSON, J., Rochester, brush-maker.

JEWSBURY, J. C., Canterbury, linen-draper.

JONES, T., Kidderminster, druggist.

LONGWORTH, R., Upper Rawcliffe-with-Tarnicar, Lancashire, rush-dealer.

MONTAGUE, J., Charlotte-street, Bedford-square, jeweller.

MORGAN, W., G. R. Roach, and G. Morgan, Liverpool-street, merchants.

POOLE, J., Worcester, comb-manufacturer.

TAYLOR, T., Clifford-st., Bond-st., man's-mercier.

WARNER, J., Manchester, warehouseman.

YOUATT, W., Nassau-street, Middlesex-hospital, druggist.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 14, 1832.

INSOLVENTS.

DE METZ, A. L., Walter's-buildings, Holloway, bill-broker.

MACKAY, J., Broad-st., insurance-broker.

BANKRUPTS.

ARMITAGE, J., and J. Greenwood, Clayton and Swamp, Yorkshire, stuff-manufacturers.

AUST, D., Walcot, Somersetshire, builder.

BREARLEY, J., Brimrod, Lancashire, woollen-manufacturer.

BURGESS, C. M., Toxteth-park, Lancashire, builder.

CLAYTON, T. sen., Chorlton-row, Lancashire, cheese-factor.

COTTLE, T., Salisbury-street, Bermondsey, dealer in marine stores.

FOULKES, J., Mold, Flintshire, wine-dealer.

GASCOYNE, R., Richmond, Surrey, tailor.

GILBERT, J. jun., Coventry, coach-proprietor.

HALLIWELL, R. O., Whitechapel-road, oil-man.

HAMILTON, R., Fountain-court, Bishops-gate-street, wine-merchant.

KEER, G. B. sen., Framlington, Suffolk, common-brewer.

KNOX, P., Maidstone, grocer.

MAUGHAM, W. T., King-street, Covent-garden, hatter.

MOTTERSHEAD, S., Manchester, cotton-spinner.

NEWMAN, J., South-st., Chelsea, victualler.

PARKER, G., Deritend, Warwickshire, factor.

SIDFORD, R. B., Wilton, Wiltshire, baker.

TAYLOR, A., Royton, Lancashire, cotton-spinner.

WISEMAN, I., Norwich, silkman.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, FEBRUARY 13.—Our supplies have been, since this day se'nights, of wheat from all quarters, as also English, Irish, and Scotch barley, and Irish malt, moderately good; of English malt, English, Irish, and Scotch oats, and English and Irish flour, great; of Scotch and foreign flour, and Scotch malt, with beans and seeds, from all quarters, but limited.

This day's market was rather numerously attended both by London and country buyers, but owing to the abundance of the supply causing these to press for abatements, whilst the sellers were firm to their last week's position, the trade was throughout very dull: with most kinds of oats at a depression of from 1s. to 2s. per qr.: with wheat, barley, malt, peas, beans, and flour, at last Monday's prices. In rye, bran, or Indian corn, but little, if anything, doing.

Wheat .....	58s. to 66s.
Rye .....	34s. to 38s.
Barley .....	23s. to 32s.
— fine .....	34s. to 41s.
Peas, White .....	34s. to 38s.
— Boiler .....	36s. to 40s.
— Grey .....	34s. to 38s.
Beans, Old .....	34s. to 36s.
— Tick .....	33s. to 37s.
Oats, Potatoe .....	23s. to 26s.
— Poland .....	21s. to 24s.
— Feed .....	17s. to 22s.
Flour, per sack .....	55s. to 60s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new, 44s. to 48s. per cwt.

— Sides, new... 46s. to 48s.

Pork, India, new .. 127s. 0d. to 128s.

Pork, Mess, new .. 67s. 0d. to —s. per barrel.

Butter, Belfast .. 92s. to —s. per cwt.

— Carlow .. 80s. to 86s.

— Cork .. 82s. to 84s.

— Limerick .. 83s. to 84s.

— Waterford .. 76s. to 82s.

— Dublin .. 80s. to —s.

Cheese, Cheshire	54s. to 84s.
— Gloucester, Double	52s. to 66s.
— Gloucester, Single	48s. to 54s.
— Edam	47s. to 50s.
— Gouda	46s. to 50s.
Hams, Irish	62s. to 70s.

## SMITHFIELD.—February 13.

This day's supply of beasts, calves, and porkers, was rather limited, but fully equal to the demand; of sheep, moderately good. The trade was throughout very dull: with beef at an advance of about 2d. per stone: mutton, veal, and pork, at Friday's quotations.

Beasts, 2,480; sheep, 19,030; calves, 85; pigs, 140.

## MARK-LANE.—Friday, Feb. 17.

The arrivals this week are again large, the market is dull, and the prices one or two shillings per quarter lower than on Monday.

## THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent. } Cons. Ann. }	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
	82 $\frac{1}{2}$	82				

## THE LANCET,

EDITED BY MR. WAKLEY.

## Diseases of Horses, Cattle, Sheep, Swine, and Dogs.

The entire Course of  
LECTURES ON VETERINARY MEDICINE,

Now delivering by WILLIAM YOUATT, Esq., in the University of London, are now publishing in the two volumes of THE LANCET for 1831—32, with the usual quantity of Medical Lectures, Cases, and Criticisms. The Veterinary Lectures appear one, two, or more of them at a time, in each succeeding Weekly Number of the Journal. The Course will form THE MOST COMPLETE TREATISE ON VETERINARY MEDICINE YET PUBLISHED IN THIS OR IN ANY OTHER COUNTRY.

Not less than TWO MILLIONS OF SHEEP were sacrificed to the disease called "THE ROT" in England during the last year!

Without saying one word of the IMMENSE LOSSES which annually occur in this country among HORSES and CATTLE, here is proof enough that a most disastrous ignorance of the true principles of Veterinary Medicine prevails in one of the first breeding countries in Europe.

It is high time, then, that the vivid lights of science should be thrown around the almost invariably fatal diseases of our Domestic Animals, and that ignorance of the proper Treatment of those Diseases should no longer exist.

It is therefore with the greatest satisfaction that the EDITOR of THE LANCET announces that he has concluded arrangements for publishing this UNIQUE COURSE OF LECTURES, now delivering to the Veterinary Students in the UNIVERSITY OF LONDON, to which Institution Mr. YOUATT has been appointed a Lecturer by the Noblemen and Gentlemen who constitute the Council.

An unremitting study of his profession during thirty years, amply qualifies the Lecturer for the duties of his office, and entitles him to be ranked as one of the most learned and practical Veterinary Surgeons in this country. In these Lectures he will lay before the profession the results of his long experience, arranged on a plan altogether new.

The number of Lectures will reach to between 80 and 100, and the proof pages are carefully revised by the Lecturer himself.

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(Third Edition)

## ON THE CHOLERA.

NARRATIVE  
OF THE  
ORIGIN, PROGRESS, AND RAVAGES,  
OF THE  
BLUE CHOLERA OF INDIA,

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